

THE EFFECTS OF URBANIZATION ON THE SEANCE MUSIC,
SEANCE TECHNIQUES AND PROFESSIONAL PRACTICES
OF SOME DIVINERS RESIDING AND WORKING IN "BLACK" TOWNSHIPS
ON THE PERIPHERY OF CAPE TOWN

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Music, University
of Cape Town, in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Music

November 1990

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing up my fieldnotes has made me realise the extent to which I am deeply indebted to so many people. It occurs to me now that although I owe them a great deal for their uncompromising assistance in this study, I feel there is something else, almost undefinable, for which I owe them even more. To label or attempt to define this 'feeling' would be difficult, if not impossible.

Special thanks to Diviners Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa who accepted me without hesitation and who became my teachers and my friends. It is with strong affection and a tinge of melancholy that I vividly recall Gogo Morwadi's statement concerning my involvement in their 'world'.....'You see Gavin, it is the 'madlozi' that have brought you here to us, they want you to be with us and they have told me that you must learn everything. We like it when you are here with us and when you go, we 'wait' for you to come again.'

It is difficult to express my appreciation of Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa. Without their generous co-operation, hospitality and assistance, I could never have completed (or begun) this study.

I am particularly indebted to Gogo Morwadi who is easily approachable, friendly, and yet preserves an aloofness and dignity that is essential to the maintenance of her prestige as a sincere and successful diviner. She handled my impatience and guided my efforts with understanding, tolerance and wisdom. It has been (and continues to be) a great privilege to have learned from her.

I also owe a special thanks to Mike (Gogo Morwadi's husband) who accepted me, provided me with warm hospitality, with humour which often turned into hilarity, encouragement, courtesy and frank wisdom, especially when I found myself in impossible situations.

I would like to express my gratitude to the following people who gave me the benefit of their knowledge:

- : Gogo Mokwena (Jeff), Gogo Morwadi's son;
- : Brian (Gogo Morwadi's other son);
- : Brenda (Gogo Morwadi's eldest daughter);
- : Gogo Dublamanzi;
- : Gogo Mtsila;
- : Manelisi Nimrod Spelman (Spokes - master drummer and interpreter on a number of occasions);
- : and all the other diviners and informants mentioned in this study.

I owe a great deal of gratitude to Henry Jeane who transcribed all the video and audio texts included in this study, much of which was poorly recorded, noisy and often involved a hybrid of languages (i.e. Zulu, Xhosa, SiSwati, English and Afrikaans) making his task all the more difficult. It should be noted that it was at my request that he transcribed and translated the material as directly as possible i.e. without altering or correcting grammatical presentation.

Although Henry cautioned me beforehand that he was not entirely proficient in Zulu and SiSwati, I allowed him to go ahead as he is a music student at the St. Francis Adult Education Centre in Langa and himself a resident of Langa (i.e. a member of the community within my research area). He was thus able to provide me with much additional information concerning current trends, customs and other relevant activities in Cape Town townships.

To my supervisor, Dr Diedre Hansen, primarily for the pure joy of working with someone who showed so much genuine enthusiasm and interest in my research. She instilled in me a sense of excitement and wonder in my work and without her enduring support (emotionally and intellectually, and in very many other ways), this study would not have been possible. Above all, even though she may not be aware of it, she has taught me that nothing (including this study) is more important than personal well-being, a concern for others and the joy of being with people. For all this I am eternally indebted to her.

I am also grateful to the University of Cape Town for the facilities they gave me which enabled me to film-record seances; in particular, the maintenance staff of the South African College of Music who did more than their fair share.

Special thanks also to many people who helped in the support and preparation of this research. Especially for the support of the UCT Research Scholarship and the Kirby Scholarship which helped to finance the research, without any responsibility for the results.

I am intellectually indebted to Jocelyn Guilbault, whose intensive investigation of the Funeral Wakes of the West Indies influenced and helped to form and shape my thinking.

My sincere gratitude to Celeste Herbert who overcame the difficult task of typing the manuscript (including the 'Xhosa'-English translations) and still continues to smile.

Thanks to the staff of Pamphlet Print, especially Mr S Coppenhall, for their help and use of photocopying and typing facilities, etc.

And finally to my girlfriend, Sonja, who gave me a roof over my head, support and encouragement, the loan of her car (which has suffered heavily as a result), for getting more than just involved with my work,...

Enkosi Khakulu!

For the interpretation and presentation of all data in this study, I alone am responsible.

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PREFACE

The aim of this study is to examine the effects of urbanization on the seance music, seance techniques and professional practices of some diviners residing and working in Langa and Guguletu, two "Black" townships on the periphery of Cape Town.

In order to realise this aim, I thought it essential to relate all the seance music to its ritual context, and to examine it as part of the events which occurred during each seance I attended. Although each ritual event was convened for certain reasons, all of the seances together constitute events of roughly the same nature and content, which in turn share a particular, important function: communion with the ancestors. As this study shows, the performance of certain songs and other ritual-specific actions, is virtually predictable in seances. Central to my methodology is the detailed investigation and description of:

1. The musical content of seances.
2. The choice of genres performed within the seances. (The use of the word 'genre' is deliberate, since seances employ music genres other than diviners' songs proper).
3. The musical roles of devotees and participants, and their reactions and relation to a particular kind of experience in certain song performance. (Although songs have essentially a religious function, many of them also have high entertainment value).
4. Variations in the musical performances, which may or may not reflect variations in actual seance procedures. Possible reasons for such variations are also investigated because they may be due to individual diviners, who are themselves the greatest agents of

innovation and variation, especially with regard to the introduction of 'new' songs and ritual procedures. On the other hand, as this study shows, such variations may be indirectly attributable to external factors influencing diviners e.g. urbanization, Christianity and education. The incorporation of church hymns into seances as part of the standard repertoire of seance music has been reported and discussed by Hansen (1981). This study looks at similar tendencies which I have noted in my own research work and through which I am able to identify 'older' and 'newer' musical traits which have emerged as a result of the adaptation/modification of essential non-divination songs for use in seances.

The research material is presented as follows:

There is a **Preface**, in which I give a fairly detailed account of my fieldwork methodology and research 'strategies' as well as personal experiences which were basic to the implementation of certain 'strategies'.

Chapter 1 provides a social and historical background to the localities in which I carried out research, mainly Langa and Guguletu, although neighbouring areas are also referred to. I felt it necessary to include this material, as many readers may not be familiar with Western Cape "Black" townships. Hence my reproduction of the social, physical and geographical environment in which I carried out my research.

Chapter 2 focuses on aspects of divination and divination methods with special reference to Nguni diviners, and divination methods and techniques used by them. Reference is made to standard anthropological and ethnological literature which provided the necessary background material for my own study. My personal experiences of divination rituals and techniques are also described in this chapter, as well as in greater detail in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3 comprises four case studies and a discussion of methods of diagnosis as used by some of my informants. Each study is a detailed description of a seance witnessed and recorded by me, each entitled Case Study no.1, Case Study no.2, and so on. The descriptions are in narrative form and within each of them the reasons why the seance was called are given, and also the total context in which the ritual was acted out - the venue - the layout of the house concerned - and all the action that occurred during the celebration of that particular seance. Transcriptions of seance dialogues, in Xhosa, with English translations, appear in Appendices and are referred to in this chapter.

Chapter 4 is concerned with a musicological analysis of the recorded and transcribed music and includes an explanation of my particular use of a modified Western staff notation system and the reasons why I have used it.

The study ends with a **Summary** of my findings.

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Xhosa divination music has been subjected to intensive and extensive ethnomusicological research by Hansen. The author's areas of research were all 28 districts of Transkei, the Peddie-King William's Town areas in Ciskei, and Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape. The latter research was given great impetus when Hansen was welcomed into a large and important diviner's group. Seances have also been well documented in many anthropological publications although the musical aspects have been, for the most part, only superficially described - if at all - and then mainly in terms of translations and meanings of song texts, and descriptions of the diviners' special dance form. In view of this, I did not think it necessary to provide a

historical background of seances in order to demonstrate the pattern of tradition among the Nguni.

Detailed information about diviners and their musical tradition in Cape Town's townships is virtually non-existent. This is not surprising, since no systematic collecting of data has been done to date. Because of its ethnographical setting, and its ethnomusicological content, this particular research study represents the first of its kind: it attempts the documentation of seance music in the townships of Cape Town, and in the proper ritual contexts in which this music was (and is currently being) performed.

From the point of view of ethnography, Langa and Guguletu belong to the Xhosa tradition, but many people of other ethnic origin also live in these areas (e.g. Zulu and Swazi people). They include two of my main informants, Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa, diviners who have Swazi cultural backgrounds.¹

Both diviners Morwadi and Magwasa used Zulu, Xhosa and Siswati terminology whenever they spoke about their seance techniques, their professions and musical tradition. This study therefore, contains a considerable mixture of Nguni language terminologies. I have used the specific terms employed by my informants in my narrative, as I wanted to keep my presentation of material as close as possible to the phraseology in which it was given to me.

Seances (*intlombe* pl. *iintlombe*=Xhosa) constitute an age-old culturally important 'category of action' among the Xhosa; equivalent categories exist among the other Nguni peoples,

and among the Bantu-speaking peoples generally.² Seances are rituals through which communication is made with the ancestors - the spirits of deceased members of the clan and lineage.³

The ancestors are the senior relatives who, although deceased, continue to take a great interest in the lives of their living descendants. Given the facts that the ancestors:

- a. often manifest themselves in various forms (human or animal, in dreams, visions and omens;
 - b. are directly responsible for 'calling' individuals to the vocation of diviner; and
 - c. expect, and even demand certain duties from their descendants (e.g. sacrificial rituals), then
- as Berglund puts it so aptly, the distance between the ancestors '...and...the living is not so great after all, and is sometimes non-existent.' (ibid).

Thus the ancestors (*idlozi* pl. *amadlozi*=Zulu⁴; *ithongo* pl. *amathongo*=Xhosa; *idloti* pl. *emadloti*-Siswati), are those people who, although no longer present among the living, are senior members of the lineage. The term 'ancestor' is also applied to people who, because of their great age and status, are honoured as ancestors while still alive.

Music plays an important role in the live enactment of seances. An assessment of its uses and functions within specific seance contexts, and the structure and style of individual songs (including their repetitions within the same, and within different seances), was basic to my

particular analytical framework. I believe that such a framework is valid and useful because it forces one to study a category of action - and its music - from the peoples' point of view and on the basis of their classification, interpretation and terminologies. The motivations that engender seances are of crucial importance, since they help to shape the ways in which these actions are structured and performed. The activities of the devotees and non-devotee participants alike are also significant, as their interaction within such contexts is an important aspect of the proper acting out of these rituals.

Then too, there is the matter of song selection: how is this actually done? Hansen's detailed study of seance activities includes references to the drawing up of '...a programme of music' by the diviner, who is assisted by other group members:

'With them, he chooses the songs and establishes the order of sequence in which they are to be sung. His choice of songs depends to some extent on the nature of the seance.' (Hansen 1981:585).

According to my experiences, there is always an appropriate musical programme for a given seance, but informants were reticent (or reluctant or unable) to tell me how this was actually done. Furthermore, some seances are characterized by more music than others. One of my objectives was to ascertain why this is so. The selection of songs within a specific seance context has to be specially noted, because it may throw light on how and/or why diviners choose certain songs for that seance. This in turn, may have a bearing on how the participants always know what to sing on a given

occasion, although other aspects of divination music (notably its 'intertribal' aspect, discussed by Hansen [op.cit:576-577]), may explain why most songs are known rather than unknown. In view of all this, it seems reasonable to assume that there is likely to be an established music repertory which forms a constant within a specific type of activity that may, in other respects, vary from one context to another.

The actions and reactions of diviners, neophytes and participants during song performances - and even after them - should also provide information on how seances are socially interpreted and evaluated. By investigating a number of events which are more or less the same, one is ultimately faced with the possibility of trying to summarize the findings of (in this case) individual seances, and to derive a generalization - a 'short model' of seances in Langa and Guguletu. This can be problematic and it may, indeed, be impossible. Since all the seances I attended were convened by the same group of diviners (or individual diviners within the group), and were attended by people (non-devotees) who came from the same social background, it seems that a 'closed model' of seances COULD emerge from my investigation. This is why this study contains detailed analyses of particular seances, convened on different occasions for various reasons. However, I must point out that my findings can be valid only for these seances in which the same group of diviners participated. An examination of the practices of other divination groups in Langa and Guguletu may well show that it is NOT possible to present a 'short-hand' model of township seances, because elements constantly appearing in seances called by professionally-related diviners, may

differ significantly from those elements in seances called by another group or association of diviners practising in the same area, and about which I know nothing.

The success and quality of any ethnomusicological research depends on the investigator's ability to select individuals - his/her informants and teachers - who represent a musical culture and to secure their genuine interest, whole-hearted co-operation and interaction, as 'sources of knowledge in the "field"'.

Right from the beginning of my research, and six months into it, I was faced with what threatened to be an insurmountable problem - the failure to make contact with any diviner at all, in Langa or Guguletu, with whom I could begin collecting data. Those first six months was an experience that was strange, confusing, and increasingly frustrating. I had never before met a diviner, although I was well informed about Nguni diviners, their rituals of ancestor kinship and divination, as well as the social contexts, structures and styles of their musical traditions. (All this is taught in Ethnomusicology course-work and in Religious Studies - my major in my BA Soc.Sci and Humanities, at UCT).

Southern Bantu diviners have interested scholars for more than a century. They have also intrigued - even fascinated - several authors and compilers of glossy, coffee-table publications, in which diviners (often mis-called 'witchdoctors') are virtually stigmatized as the epitome of 'darkest Africa'.

When I began my fieldwork, I approached it with some anticipation, naiveté, and a certain amount of trepidation. It was not long before I learned - like so many investigators before me - that making contact with potential informants is a very complicated and daunting task. In my case, diviners in the Western Cape generally, seemed to be particularly elusive. Although several of my African friends approached individual diviners on my behalf, to arrange a meeting, they were always unsuccessful. I suspected, and eventually was convinced that their (diviner's) apparent elusiveness, evasiveness and reluctance to respond, was deliberate. It would have been helpful to have had some explanations for these reactions, but none were ever forthcoming. My friends merely shuffled their feet awkwardly, shrugged their shoulders, and urged me to adopt a 'wait-and-see' attitude, because 'things would come right in time'.

But the diviners' continued elusiveness and silence was very disturbing, and that first six-month period of attempted fieldwork was a very desolate time for me. It also disabused me of a long-held impression that fieldwork consists of an active researcher obtaining information from passive but voluble informants, who are bound to be interested in the research project.

In June 1989, in sheer desperation, I took the dubious step of offering to finance an *intloombe*, and to this end, I asked Spokes (Manelisi Nimrod Spelman) and Gugs (full name unknown), members of a wellknown local African music group called AmaSwazi - to make contact and negotiate with an influential diviner. I am aware that this is not an

accepted method of obtaining valid data; the whole event is 'arranged' at one's request, and is therefore hardly appropriate for objective observation and analysis. The music is performed in prescribed dimensions, and can only be examined from a limited perspective (I draw a distinction here between this sort, and deliberately contrived and arranged musical performances which investigators often request, in order to compare and contrast them with spontaneous performances of the same music), consequently it is not surprising that this kind of 'contrived', pre-arranged event is not usual scholarship. However, I believe that, at times, one has to submit oneself to certain experiences, and to act accordingly, even in a controversial manner, simply in order to cause things to happen. I did this, too, out of an acute sense of frustration - but as it turned out, this action had its compensations. Things began to happen, though not always quite the way I wanted or expected, but I eventually made a breakthrough - I established contact with diviners. It just required a little ingenuity, and a great deal of patience - a quality I do not possess in abundance.

On June 27, 1989, I drove to the home of Diviner Magwasa, situated in Zone 8, Langa. Spokes and Gugs went with me to act as interpreters and generally smooth the way. We arrived at our destination at 17h10, and I was formally introduced to Gogo Agnes Nobuntu Nobandla Magwasa, (*isiduko/sibongo* [clan name]: Noman Kokwana), who is a highly esteemed diviner with a well-established practice.

The daughter of an Mpondo father and Sotho mother, Gogo Magwasa was born in Johannesburg on April 26, 1955. In 1970

she and her mother moved to Cape Town and settled in Langa, where the young girl attended Mosheshe school for three years. In 1973 she married her husband, Mr Dlamini. The couple have six children; five sons and one daughter.

Gogo Magwasa was 'called' to the vocation of diviner (*sangoma*=Siswati) in 1980, when she was 25 years of age. She underwent her training in the Kingdom of Swaziland (*KaNgwane*) her 'home' country (i.e. the home of her kinsmen and ancestors) and to which she returns periodically in order to 'renew' her mediumistic and 'curing' abilities.

The profession of divination has been in her family for several generations. She told me that she had several 'working ancestors' (she speaks English) i.e. deceased relatives who communicate with her in seances, and assist her in her professional duties. Most important among the 'working ancestors' are:

1. A grandmother of Swazi/Zulu descent, who was a great *sangoma* in her lifetime. It was this particular ancestor who adopted the name Magwasa (in preference to her real last name) during her *umthwasa* or training period as a novice diviner. This 'working ancestor' is Gogo Magwasa's most powerful and influential medium, and is always the first to 'come through' i.e. communicate, in seances.
2. Sikhathini, a Sotho-speaking 'male' ancestor, was also a powerful diviner when he was alive. Likewise,
3. Madawa Maripo, an ancestor of Chopi cultural origin, who was a diviner and a man of substance, possessing many cattle and goats. Gogo Magwasa believes strongly

in his influence upon her, manifested in the way in which Maripo 'works' for her, and helps her to 'make money'.

Ancestor Maripo, like all ancestors, continually makes demands upon his living descendants. Recently I was told by Gogo Magwasa that he was 'ordering' her to obtain an *amadinda* xylophone - (i.e. a free-key, non-resonated log xylophone with a rich musical tradition), in the former Kingdom of Buganda. (The tradition, like Buganda itself, is now obsolete). The Chopi people are famous for their centuries-old xylophone tradition, comprising extended vocal/instrumental/dance ensembles employing many *timbila* (pl.= the fixed key, fully resonated frame xylophone) unique to the Chopi people of Mocambique. Both xylophone traditions have been well-documented, the Chopi tradition being still fairly active, albeit outside Mocambique, its traditional culture area. Mandawu Maripo's request for an *amadinda* may appear odd, but I think he requested it because of its availability, in modified form. I am well-acquainted with *amadinda* music, have made several replicas of the instrument and have performed on it in public in Cape Town, consequently it has a wide publicity in the Western Cape. According to Gogo Magwasa, an *amadinda* would not be inappropriate, even though it represents a culture that is 'foreign' to the Chopi, and a tradition that is moribund. Being a Chopi, ancestor Maripo 'loves' xylophone music, and an *amadinda* would do as well as any other since it is after all, a xylophone. I cannot help but think that in Gogo's account of her ancestor's demand for an

amadinda, there is a hint of a request for me to make one for her...!, which I later did.

4. Sabhem is another 'working' ancestor who takes a lively interest in his granddaughter, Gogo Magwasa's affairs. When he was alive, he was a herbalist (*ixhwelwe*=Xhosa), and even today, as an ancestor, he continues to advise his living descendant on the specific uses of various herbs, roots and other material. Sometimes his interest is excessive and not altogether welcome. For example, he insists that Gogo Magwasa must 'dress like a man' (i.e. not wear a brassiere) and must drink excessive amounts of *umqombothi* (home-brewed beer) at his request. Gogo admittedly finds some of his demands irksome: "I do not like it when he comes through and makes me do what I do not like!"

When I was introduced to Gogo Magwasa, her appearance dispelled a good many preconceptions I had about diviners. Contrary to my expectation of a statuesque, grim-faced, elderly woman, I beheld a slender young woman, remarkable in appearance in that she wore a fashionable black-and-white dress, 'gold' earrings, and carried a young child in her arms. She looked at me inscrutably, and, rather taken aback, I greeted her in Xhosa:

: "Molo".
: ('Good morning').

Gogo : "Molo".
: (Good morning').
: "Kunjani".
: ('How are you').

Gogo : "Sikhona nati, kunjani kuwe".
: ('I am all right, how are you?')

- : "Hayi, ndiphilile".
 : ('Yes, I'm well').
- Gogo : "Uthetha isixhosa?"
 : ('Do you speak Xhosa?')
- : "Ndiyafunda ukuthetha isixhosa".
 : ('I am learning to speak Xhosa').
 : "Ndithetha incinci".
 : ('I speak a little').
- Gogo : "Oh, Wenza ntoni apha?"
 : ('Oh...what are you doing here?')
- : "Mmm...ndifuna ukubona intlombe".
 : ('Mmm...I want to see an *intlombe*').

At this her face relaxed into a smile, and, looking at me attentively, she asked (in English) why I wanted to see *intlombe*! Anxious to secure her interest, I explained the purpose of my research: although I had some knowledge of diviners and their 'business', I wanted to learn much more about them - and their music - from diviners themselves. I also stressed the fact that, in order to understand and appreciate diviners's songs, one must know about the beliefs and meanings behind that music.

Gogo Magwasa seemed satisfied with this explanation. She motioned me to accompany her into an adjoining room. It was a bedroom, furnished with a huge double bed and a large cupboard. Her home, as I subsequently found out, comprises two bedrooms, bathroom, kitchen and lounge (dominated by a big colour TV set), electric lighting and cold water 'on tap'.

One corner of the bedroom had a set of shelves which were packed with an array of bottles, jars and other containers which held unrecognizable substances, presumably diviners paraphernalia, medicines and 'fortune' objects. Rows of similar bottles and containers were arranged on the surrounding floor area, on which also some traditional style garments and artefacts were heaped. (see Plates no.1 and 2, p.342-343).

Seeing my obvious interest in all these things, Gogo Magwasa clapped her hands twice - very softly - and then produced a snake-skin belt from one of the shelves. I encouraged her to talk about her actions and her ritual possessions, and she told me that the gentle handclaps were symbolic, and were made in order 'to show respect for the ancestors', and to 'thank them'.

The snake-skin belt was a very precious article - it had belonged to one of her diviner ancestors, and so was identified with her spirit. Gogo Magwasa herself always donned this belt for rituals, so that the ancestor (and former owner of the belt) would 'come through' [to] her.

Thereafter, she randomly selected a number of jars from the shelves, and explained the properties of the various substances. I found it completely impossible to understand her because she used African (Xhosa and Siswati) terminologies with which I was at the time totally unfamiliar.

The atmosphere was relaxed and informal and when she had replaced the last jar on the shelf, I continued to ask when

the next *intlombe* was likely to take place. Gogo Magwasa seemed uncertain, and then replied 'Maybe at the end of August'. Encouraged by her response, I stated that I was anxious to observe such an event and was prepared to contribute financially towards it - and even subsidize the whole event. My offer surprised her greatly - it was evident that she had not expected it. Leaving her to muse over the matter, Spokes, Gugs and I made a quick mental inventory of basic requirements for a seance, and the estimated cost thereof; we calculated a total amount of R310.00, which would purchase the following:

2 cases of beer	R 30.00
1 x 12,5kg bag of King Corn	R 20.00
1 x 12,5kg bag of Maize Meal	R 20.00
2 bottles of Gin	R 20.00
2 bottles of Brandy	R 20.00
1 goat (for sacrifice and distribution among parti- cipants)	R200.00

	R310.00

I itemized all this verbally, and assured the diviner that I would return the next day with the money. We parted on very good terms; I felt that the success of this meeting augured well for my research - and above all, I had finally made contact with a diviner.

The following day I returned alone to Gogo Magwasa's house and gave her the money. Her acceptance of it was preceded by the ritual handclaps, after which she placed the bundle of notes in a tin can situated among her numerous medicine jars. She then brought out a small flat tin, and opened it. It contained a small quantity of brownish-coloured paste

which she informed me was 'for good luck', and very effective in all kinds of unpleasant circumstances. So saying, she applied the paste sparingly to her forehead, eyebrows, the palms of both hands and finally, to the rest of her face, all the while stressing the powerful properties of this *umuthi*, which would be efficacious even in a courtroom situation. 'I use this stuff if I have to go to court, and the magistrate will almost certainly just tell me to go home again' (that is to say, the charge against her would be dropped forthwith).

Intrigued by the paste, I asked for permission to use some myself, and it was granted. (When applying it I experienced no sudden feeling of wellbeing or pending good luck!) I was, however, interested in the paste, which was tasteless and odourless and quite unidentifiable.

I asked many questions about curing, and about dispensing medicines, and although the diviner did not reply to all my questions, she received them in a courteous and dignified way.

She then asked me a question - whether I knew of a sales outlet for the beautiful beadwork her mother makes. Almost in the same breath and without waiting for a reply from me, she asked whether I would be interested in meeting a friend of hers, who was very keen to meet 'the white man who pays R300.00 for *intlombe*. Of course I replied in the affirmative, at which point she said we should go immediately to her friend. We climbed into my car, and drove to a dwelling located in Zone 7, Langa. I was advised to 'park the car secretly' on the street. Rather

bewildered, I did as the diviner instructed and drove slowly forwards and backwards in front of the house, as though looking for a particular address and trying to get my bearings. No reason was given for these instructions, nor did I query them. Once we were out of the car, we entered a gate and walked behind the house towards a small, corrugated iron shack, located in the back yard, but having easy access to the main street. After knocking discreetly on the door, Gogo Magwasa opened it and disappeared inside the shack. A few minutes later she called to me to enter, and I did so. Although the light was poor in the musty, gloomy little structure (it was roughly 3,5 square metres in size) it was sufficient to reveal a large number of rodents running about in all directions on the floor. For one awful moment I thought they were rats, but they were, in fact, guinea pigs.

In the room itself, every available space was cluttered and crammed with all kinds of containers; bundles of herbs and roots hanging from the ceiling, as well as snake skeletons, animal pelts and skulls of small animals. Similar objects hung from rusty nails on the walls, and all this contributed to the rather eerie atmosphere and sinister appearance of the tiny room. (see Plate no.3,4 & 5, p.344-346).

There were three men in the room: two elderly men seated on an old sofa, watching a third man who was mixing some or other substance in a jar. Unremarkable in appearance, he was tall, middle-aged and wore a blue workman's overall. I was introduced to him - Baba Manci - a herbalist (*ixhwele*) of some repute. After a nod of acknowledgement, Baba Manci spoke to Gogo Magwasa in Xhosa (I learnt that he knows no English, thus all our conversations were conducted with Gogo

Magwasa translating my English into Xhosa and Manci's replies into English). However, although I do not speak Xhosa fluently, I am able to understand it to a degree, and so I got the gist of most of Baba Manci's statements and queries.

He listened attentively as Gogo Magwasa explained the purpose of our visit. The two elderly men were evidently amazed to hear about the proposed subsidizing of an *intlombe*.

At this point I felt compelled to say something in Xhosa and my words were politely received. One of the elderly men, a trifle laconically, recommended that I purchase a Xhosa dictionary from 'the I.D. bookshop in town'; I think this was intended to be a tactful comment on my inadequate (or poor) command of the Xhosa language!

All this time Baba Manci had been observing me attentively. He turned to Gogo Magwasa and abruptly asked her how long I had had the cold sores on my lips. Somewhat taken aback, I replied in English that they were the aftermath of a severe bout of influenza. Gogo Magwasa translated all this and Baba Manci's response was a shrugging of the shoulders, and he made no further comments. I then apprehensively requested permission to attend seances and Baba Manci received this request affably enough, nodding in agreement. Encouraged by this, I pursued the matter further, and explained that I would not be able to pay a fee for every seance I attended. Without hesitation, Mr Manci stated firmly that, '...from now on [I] must not pay any more money

for *intlombe*! With this decisive statement the whole matter was settled.

It was a very successful meeting and we debated for a while about this 'curious' arrangement - a white person anxious to find out as much as he could about diviners' methods and also their music. In fact, both Gogo Magwasa and Baba Manci were adamant that I should go further and 'learn to be a fully-fledged *sangoma* and they discussed at length various plans for my prospective career in divining and curing.

When Gogo Magwasa and I took our leave, Baba Manci generously invited me to visit him again and added that I could come...and speak with [him] at any time!

While driving back to Gogo Magwasa's house, I learned that the dwelling and the corrugated iron shack which I had just visited was not Baba Manci's residence but his place of business. His home is in Khayelitsha but he runs his herbal practice in Langa.

When I took leave of Gogo Magwasa, we made arrangements to meet on the 5th August, when the *intlombe* was scheduled to take place (see *Intlombe* 1:p.166).

I arrived at Gogo Magwasa's house to find Spokes sitting on the front verandah. He informed me that the diviner was attending to a client and that I would have to wait until the consultation was over. As I always take my *mbira* (lamellophone) with me wherever I go (it's an effective conversation-starter), I took it and commenced playing. Within minutes a group of people had gathered round to

listen to the music. Spokes was especially intrigued, and insisted that I teach him to play the instrument. He approached the basic techniques with great enthusiasm, and acquired them in a relatively short time.

It was almost an hour before Gogo Magwasa finished her business with her client. She came outside and immediately asked if she could have the *mbira* as a gift. She then motioned me to follow her and ushered me into the bedroom which was crammed with her paraphernalia. She informed me that the client was herself a *sangoma*, who had consulted her (Gogo) because she was 'having a bad time' - the reason being she was 'out of favour with the *amadlozi*' (ancestors).

Very interested, I asked her how she had dealt with such a difficult matter. Obliging she picked up a draw-string bag, opened it, and poured a heap of objects onto a reed mat on the floor: these included two dominoes, silver coins, cowrie and whelk shells, and the bones of animals. She referred to all of them as her *amathambo* ('bones'), and said she used them to 'fortune' her clients in order to diagnose a cure for their illnesses and problems. (see Chapter 3, p.199ff).

When I asked her to throw the bones for me, she refused outright, saying that she could 'fortune' for me only if I had problems ('if there was something wrong with [me]'). After pursuing my request, we reached a compromise: she would throw the bones in order to tell if the forthcoming *intlombe* would be successful ('any good').

Then, crouching down on her haunches, she scooped up the 'bones' with her cupped hands, muttered something over them (presumably addressing the ancestors), shook them rhythmically and flung them in a scattered array onto the reed mat at my feet. *Amathambo* always 'fell' accurately, and, after scrutinising them, Gogo Magwasa said, with a note of finality, that they 'told well' for the forthcoming *intlombe*. She followed this prognosis with an interpretation that was quite incomprehensible to me.

In spite of her convincing verdict, I saw mixed expressions of dissatisfaction and apprehension on her face. She repeated the ritual, and followed it with another lengthy, rambling and (to me) bewildering interpretation. A third shaking and casting of the bones convinced me that the diviner was dissatisfied and disturbed at the way the bones had fallen the first time, hence two more attempts to make them fall the way she wanted, so that they predicted a successful *intlombe*. Perhaps the costs involved in the event had something to do with her determination to secure a favourable 'fortune' - I do not know. However, I was able to observe the procedure and basic structure of bone-throwing rituals. Casting the bones (*ukulahla 'amathambo*) is a method of divining 'fortunes' - not only current sickness, sorcery and other misfortunes, but also future (coming) events. I was told that this method is something known only to professional bone-throwers.⁵

On my arriving at Gogo Magwasa's house on the day preceding the scheduled seance to see how the *intlombe* preparations were progressing, I was greeted by an encouraging sight: two double-skin drums (*isigubu* pl. *izigubu*) were lying on

the front verandah with their drum-skins exposed to the sunlight. This is an age-old method of tuning drums, not only in Africa, but elsewhere in the world. The heat of the sun - or from a fire - tightens the drum-skins, thus regulating their tension and relative pitch. The frames of the drums (one was only slightly larger than the other) were made from industrial metal drums (barrels).

The larger instruments had a diameter of 80cm, and a height of approximately 35cm. The drum-heads were made from cowhide, flayed near the centres, and were secured to each end of the drum-frames by means of leather thongs intricately interlaced in a zig-zagging pattern (see Plate no.6 & 7, p.347-348). Such drums are obligatory at *iintlombe* and these were being 'tuned' in readiness for the seance, which was to convene on the following day. I entered the house and was met by Gogo Magwasa, who informed me that 'we should go at once and inform some other *izangoma* in the townships about the forthcoming seance'. She affected not to notice my surprise and dismay at the somewhat belated issue of invitations, but went on to tell me that she '...must first do something' before we went on our errand.

Rummaging among her divining materials, she brought out a small gourd, colourfully decorated with beadwork, and open at one end. Kneeling on the floor, she proceeded to burn some *imphepho* in a flat metal dish. Leaving it to smoulder, she grasped the beaded gourd with both hands and blew gently into its aperture. As I subsequently learned, these actions constituted an important ritual (*-phahla*) which 'told the ancestors' of the diviner's pending

activities (the seance) and invoked their assistance and favour in this regard.

The ritual having been performed, we left the house - and drove for wellnigh two and a half hours in all directions on the Cape Flats.⁷ During this period we contacted six diviners: two living in Langa, one in Khayelitsha, two in Nyanga and one other living in an area unknown to me; at that stage I had lost all sense of direction and did not know where I was. (All this time I made no attempt to gather the names and addresses of the diviners, as I felt this might have antagonised them. I also felt that these people would surely have some ambivalence - and even suspicions - about people like me).

Having informed the diviners of the seance, I dropped Gogo Magwasa at her Langa home and drove back to my apartment with some mixed feelings and a vague sense of anticipation (or was it anxiety?). The first phase of 'fieldwork' had got off to a slow start - but at least it was on the move!

The seance had been scheduled to begin at 11h30. It was then deferred to 17h00, and finally rescheduled for 19h00. I had been informed about all these re-arrangements by arriving at each newly scheduled time; thus, on Saturday, 5th August, I finally arrived at the appointed place at the appointed time (19h00).

There was no sign of activity, and I entered the house with some misgivings. For all I knew, the seance may have been rescheduled yet again...! However, once inside the house, I noticed that the lounge had been cleared of its furniture,

and was now barely furnished with a few benches placed against the walls. Somewhat reassured, I began to set up the video equipment in the dimly lit little room (it was approximately 4,5 x 3,5m in size).

At 19h30 Gogo Magwasa walked into the room, and asked me to go and fetch a friend of hers, who lives in Nyanga, Zone 11. With the previous day's excursion still vivid in my mind, I acquiesced rather reluctantly. It was decided that Spokes and another youth should accompany me. I was also informed that Baba Mancu would be requiring transport to the Langa taxi rank, at a certain time. Issued with these directives, we went on our way. Spokes was uncertain of the route to Nyanga, Zone 11, and the moonless night and absence of street lights made driving not only slow, but extremely hazardous. We travelled for about 30 minutes along narrow dirt 'paths' or 'ways' (*ighanga*, pl. *amaghanga*, from Afr. 'gang') in what Spokes estimated was Nyanga East. His remarks about the dangerous gangs (*Tsotsies*) that habitually lurked about these *ghanga* - especially on Saturday nights - were hardly reassuring, and I was very relieved when we drew up at the house of Diviner Gogo Nomayeza (Swazi).

Spokes and the youth hurriedly left the car and disappeared into the house, leaving me alone in the car - and in the smothering darkness. I was quite lost and I felt utterly abandoned. Suddenly the front door of the house swung open. Silhouetted against the light emanating from the doorway was the form of a tall, truly massive woman. As she approached the car, I heard sounds of singing and clapping coming from the house behind her. She stopped alongside the vehicle and knocked on the window in a peremptory manner - an unspoken

command for me to open the car door. I did so, and in the light of the car I was able to see her form and features very clearly.

She was tall, of heavy build, and appeared to be partially clothed, wearing only a brassiere, and a wide strip of cloth around her hips. She leant forward and smiled widely, displaying dazzlingly white teeth. Speaking in English, she welcomed me with great warmth and enthusiasm as her 'best friend' (a description she applies to most people, as I subsequently found out). She insisted that I accompany her into her house. Being anxious to return to the seance at Gogo Magwasa's house, I made some excuses about the lack of time, etc. but she did not show the slightest interest in them. Before I knew it, the large and determined woman was ushering me into her house. It was impossible to escape from the grasp of this well-intentioned lady.

The lounge was lit up by numerous small candles, and I was genially introduced to the people there as the diviner's 'best friend'. All these persons (five in number) turned out to be diviners; they had been providing all the music - the singing, clapping and dancing - and were clearly in a very celebratory mood. I was then taken to another room, poorly lit by a solitary candle. When my eyes became accustomed to the gloom, I was able to discern a clay pot on the floor. It contained home-brewed beer (*utywala*=corn beer) and three elderly men were seated around it. Although Spokes had followed me into the room, he was soon told to leave it. I was alarmed at his going but he informed me - in an undertone - that only 'men' were allowed into the room. Not yet having gone through the Xhosa rite of male

initiation (*ukwalusa*), Spokes was socially still a 'boy' (*inkwenkwe*) and not yet a man (*indoda*). I felt awkward and intimidated at being a total stranger in such a situation and Spokes' parting comment that 'things will be all right', was not particularly reassuring.

However, Gogo Nomayeza's introduction of her 'best friend' was accepted by the elderly men. When she insisted that I drink some beer, I politely declined the offer at which point she got down on her knees, and proceeded to grope about under a bed in one corner, as if searching for something. Only her ample hips prevented her from disappearing under the bed altogether. After much heaving of the bed itself and the moving of various objects underneath it, the diviner emerged with a quart bottle of Lion Lager clutched in one large hand. She prised off the bottle top (by inserting it against the top of another unopened bottle) and then placed the now open quart bottle on the floor, alongside the other bottle and a glass. There was no doubt as to what I was expected to do - drink all the beer, every last drop of it. Anxious to avoid an altercation with the diviner, I replied that I could not consume such a large quantity of beer, as I had to drive myself about, and therefore had to remain clear-headed in order to do so. There was no response from Gogo Nomayeza, but she was obviously displeased with my refusal to drink. It was also obvious that I had committed a *faux pas*. There was an uncomfortable silence in the room, and one of the elderly men broke it by whispering into my ear that I had better drink the beer, or else the diviner would 'kill' me. I felt piqued and did my best to conceal it, but I was adamant in my refusal to drink so much beer. However,

anxious to show my good intentions, I took a glass and filled it with beer, and gulped it down, too tired and frustrated to argue further. Feeling disillusioned and unhappy, I politely took my leave. As I turned to leave the room, Gogo Nomayeza, who had been contemplating me coldly, suddenly decided to overlook my apparent breach of etiquette. In a sudden change of mood, and with a reproachful look, she exclaimed: 'Oh! but how can I go like this' (referring to her half-dressed state). Then, almost casually, she proceeded to remove her two items of clothing. Confronted with this unexpected display of herself, I was at a loss for words. I felt that some gesture of acknowledgement - however vague - would be sufficient, so I nodded as if in agreement as convincingly as I could - but it was difficult to do so. Perhaps the display was intended to be a conscience-salving device, on her part - I do not know. (Subsequent encounters revealed that this diviner's thinking is very complex, and her actions always unpredictable).

Perhaps, too, it was an indication of her hurt feelings, in that she herself had been slighted by my refusal to drink all the beer. She may well have thought that my reluctance to drink was a hint of a total disapproval of all alcohol consumption on my part, and therefore she felt humiliated. However, a cautious remark from one of the old men expunged all feelings of guilt, pique and humiliation from my mind; he recommended that 'some children...be put into [my] car, otherwise it would be stolen'! I rushed out of the house into the dark street in order to check whether or not my car was still parked in it. I literally fell upon the vehicle in the dark, and to my great relief, I found several

youngsters happily climbing about inside the car, 'looking after' it for me!

On returning to the house, I found myself confronting the diviner who had made no further effort to ready herself for the *intlombe*. Once again, I had great difficulty in concealing my impatience, and I insisted on leaving immediately - which I did.

As I approached my car, I realized that Spokes had seemingly disappeared. I was now in a predicament as I could not leave without him. However, within a few minutes he reappeared and informed me that Gogo Nomayeza 'was coming'. I waited - and waited - but she failed to appear. The whole situation was becoming a trial by ordeal for me. Suddenly Spokes emerged from the house and directed me to 'start the car' - a strategy intended to speed up events and it worked, as the diviner soon appeared and climbed into the back of my car - which sank heavily onto its chassis. As she settled herself on the back seat she informed me that she would don the rest of her diviner's dress at the seance.

Within seconds of our driving off, and just when my impatience began to subside, Spokes' next remark confirmed my worst fears. 'We must now pick up someone from Guguletu'. Feeling that the whole situation had all the makings of a long and endlessly complicated night, I refused to drive to Guguletu. But Spokes smiled apologetically and insisted that we go and fetch the other person - she was a diviner, and a very influential one - and Magwasa's teacher - to boot.

I swallowed my impatience and we drove to Guguletu, where we fetched Gogo Morwadi. I did not know it then, but it was this diviner - Gogo Morwadi - who was to be my most co-operative informant, and who was to teach me so much about the traditional beliefs and rituals of her people.

While waiting for Gogo Morwadi to join us in the car, a group of young children came up to us, laughing and jostling one another and generally enjoying themselves. Curious at the sight of my car, they came up alongside it and peered in through the rear window. They were confronted by the rather forbidding visage of Diviner Nomayeza. To say that the children were frightened of her is an understatement. They were plainly terrified of her and ran away in all directions, yelling and screaming. Convinced that the seance in Langa had commenced hours ago, and frustrated at all the delays, I turned and - very stupidly - hooted impatiently. Spokes came hurrying up to the car and urged me not to hoot - it antagonized the diviners - 'who do not like to be rushed'.

All my experiences that evening had a personal lesson to impart - but it took me a long time to learn it - a lesson on the necessity for patience in fieldwork. After all, it is patience that is required, to listen, and to get to know the people who have something to share. It is with patience that one learns to respond at the right time, and in the right way. It is with patience that one learns to submit oneself to very uncomfortable experiences in order to gather information. As I said earlier on, patience is a quality which I do not possess in great abundance - at least, not in the early stages of fieldwork!

Eventually, Gogo Morwadi was ready to leave and she joined Gogo Nomayeza in the back of the car. Anxious to return to Langa, I engaged gear and drove off - only to have Gogo Morwadi shouting into my ear that she would not go 'without her husband!' So saying, she opened the door of the moving car. Her husband must have been waiting on the roadside all along, and in my haste to go, I had overlooked him. He sat down in the seat next to me, and we once again drove off, and again I was stopped by more shouting - this time from Spokes, who had been left behind!! He opened a back door and leapt into the car, landing on the two diviners on the back seat. All this happened while the car was still moving... In all circumstances, it was remarkable that the car (Alpha Sud 1980) moved at all, considering the overload it carried!

When we arrived at Gogo Magwasa's house, we found the *intlombe* already in progress. In view of the obstacles and irritations I had already encountered that evening, it was with infinite relief that I spent the remainder of the night video-recording the *intlombe*. I also took numerous photographs and notes of the procedures and the participants.

For a detailed description, content and analysis of this *intlombe*, see pp.166-170 inclusive).

In the 'interim' between the first seance and the second one attended by me (5.8.89-8.9.89), a number of incidents occurred which made me painfully aware of:

- a. the precarious nature of cultural research;
- b. the unpredictability of informants on whom one's research depends; and
- c. how it is sometimes very difficult for a researcher to avoid giving offence.

One incident stands out in sharp clarity. It was a lengthy and heated dispute between Gogo Magwasa and myself, over a number of photographs taken by me at the seance, and copies of which I presented to the diviner. She was very happy to have them and showed them to all her friends, neighbours and clients. However, her reception of a video-tape of the seance (to be viewed on her television set) a few days later, was distinctly hostile. She virtually ignored the film-tape, and angrily accused me of withholding 'a lot of' photographs from her.

Utterly astonished and mystified by this accusation, I vehemently denied it, but the diviner insisted that I had 'cheated' her out of at least 20 photographs.

Finding it all impossible to understand, I demanded some reasons for the charges. After some evasiveness on her part, the diviner said she had been 'told by the other diviners', who were equally upset over my 'deception'. My persistent, near-frantic denials only made her more insensitive to any feelings I might have in the matter. She referred to her 'ancestors' as additional sources of

information, then pushed me into the *indumba* (her bedroom with all her diviner's equipment and remedies [ref.p:160, note 22]). There, in this inner sanctum of the ancestors, she repeated her accusations, adding threateningly '...and you must not cheat us!' I flinched at this, and as her tirade continued unabated, I became desperate, then slowly angry. I knew I had not cheated her. It seemed as if all my contributions so far to the seance, in terms of cash, transport, gifts (extra beer, purchased at a great rush at a shebeen where I was almost mugged) counted as nothing in view of these spurious charges. Confronted by her inflexible refusal to believe me, I began to doubt my own memory - had I some more photographs or perhaps another unfinished film still in my camera? In confusion, I suggested that this was a possibility, and the diviner took it to be an admission of guilt. She told me that her ancestors 'knew' and insisted that I owed her at least '20 more' photographs. Although I knew I was innocent, I retorted that I had not purposefully withheld any photographs from her - the worst thing I could have said in the circumstances. I asked her to inform her ancestors about this. To my surprise she proceeded to do just that: she knelt down, and 'talked' to them, punctuating her conversation with the ritual handclaps. At one stage she ordered me to clap likewise, and I did so, feeling as though I were on trial. No doubt the verdict of the ancestors would be 'guilty as charged!'

When the conversation ended, I ventured to ask the opinion of the ancestors, and was told (with great hostility) that they endorsed the accusations. The situation was now exceedingly grave: I was involved in a nightmare argument

with her - and my entire research depended on people like her. In desperation I asked for permission to speak to her ancestors. She found this request reasonable, but futile in the circumstances because 'the ancestors do not speak English'. Even as she said this, she suddenly shifted her argument and said, in a more reasonable tone of voice, that she herself trusted me, although one of her ancestors - a 'fussy' ancestor - did NOT, and it was he who was 'working through' her and accusing me of cheating. She added that, although she personally trusted me, she could not answer for her ancestor... So saying, she looked directly at me, and cautioned me about any attempts to 'cheat the ancestors': "You must never think of it, because they know everything!"

It was what she said next that suddenly gave me an understanding of her accusations, and enabled me to absorb the reasons for them. In admonishing tones she warned me against '...taking the video overseas'; and 'making money' out of it without the knowledge and permission of her ancestors (and that of herself and other diviners) and also a share of the profits incurred. Any attempt to do so would mean personal misfortune, even disaster, for me. Then, with a final 'But I know you will never cheat us', spoken almost cajolingly, she abruptly changed the subject.

When I look back on this experience, I realise that I would have coped more successfully with it had I had more 'field' experience. It is a wellknown fact that Black South Africans in both urban and rural environments have long had to endure the intrusions, disruptions and dominations of White researchers, the media, recording groups, and have been, generally, exploited economically. But at this stage

I was not far enough along in my research to consider the possibility of my being regarded as an intruder, with some or other ulterior motive. I was too new to the field situation itself. Although I had had some grounding in fieldwork methods, it is difficult if not impossible to 'learn' them from other people's accounts; one has to experience them, and to be aware at all times that some people - individuals - are bound to be doubtful of one's intentions and that blatant hostility, jealousy and resentment are among the obstacles a researcher should expect to encounter - especially a White researcher working among Blacks in South Africa. (In her Preface to her Ethnomusicological Survey of Xhosa music (1981), Hansen gives accounts of some traumatic incidents which occurred in her fieldwork, all of which could be attributed to fear - inculcated by White domination and Black racial prejudices, and socio-economic deprivation over a long period of time).

Being new to the situation, I had not yet formed any views and opinions and notions about possible resistance to my research, and to me personally. Since my intentions were sincere, suspicions of financial manipulation and profiteering on the part of informants never entered my head.

This incident left me wiser in the knowledge that one must never take one's informants for granted and above all, that any aspect of fieldwork may be the focus for resentment, even though it may not be the real cause of that resentment. In this case, although the photographs were the focus of the dispute, it was the video-tape, and its economic potential, which was the real cause of the dispute. I should have been

aware of this, but I was not, because of my inexperience and naivte. Thus the diviner's anger and resentment may not have been justifiable or excusable - but it was certainly understandable.

Following the termination of this matter, Gogo Magwasa's next words were a clear indication of her genuine desire to help me with my research: 'You must learn everything about *intlombe*. You must learn about this and that *umuthi*, and our beliefs and customs (*amasiko*). The ancestors have said it - they have told me that I must teach you everything.'

So saying, she pointed to her array of diviner's materia, and generously invited me to regard the room (*indumba*, see Plates no.1 & 2, p.342-343) my 'home' to which I was welcome at all times, and especially when 'in trouble'. My obvious scepticism as to the improbability of finding myself in a serious predicament, drew a warning from her: 'within 3-4 months I would be in big trouble; and would seek her help'. Having foretold this unpleasant event, she soothed its impact on me by predicting success in my research, and a degree of 'fame' in the not-too-distant future. A tin can lying on its side (usually used at the anointing ceremony (*ukufaka ebhekileni*) of a neophyte in the third year of apprenticeship) was a sign that the ancestors were 'working' for me. Its position was a sign of their protection and watchfulness. (Had the can been standing upright it would have indicated ancestral indifference; ['they do not care']; had the can been lying upside down, it would have meant 'terrible misfortune' [for me].

The matter of the video-tape was again raised, with the blunt question: 'ARE you going to sell it overseas?' By this time I was already beginning to develop a facility for expecting and grasping the complexity of her thinking, and I replied that the tape would be used for teaching and research purposes only. However, her response caught me unawares: 'Oh, but you must sell it overseas. The ancestors say so, you can make a lot of money with it.' Having said all this, she suggested we go and view the video. It was then that I realised that she had finally accepted the sincerity of my aims and objectives and was convinced that some good could come from an outsider like me studying divination rituals and music. The video-tape was viewed on the TV in the lounge, much to the enjoyment of the company of people present. A second viewing was arranged for another day, to accommodate the many people who wanted to see it.

During the viewing, attempts to ask questions about actions in the seance were futile - no-one heard me - so I gave up and eventually fell asleep in an armchair. Shortly after the viewing was over (23h00) I took my leave and promised to return with a copy of the tape. Within minutes my car broke down and I was forced to leave it at the Langa police station. I then waited for what seemed ages - under a street light - in the biting cold (the temperature was -2°C) until a friend came to take me home.

The next few days were spent in visiting people and establishing good rapport with them. A presentation copy of the seance tape to Gogo Magwasa was my first priority. On arriving at her home, I met a well-dressed elderly man,

seated in the lounge. Assuming him to be the diviner's husband, I asked to see his wife. He stood up and replied, in a surly tone of voice, 'So you are looking for her too - perhaps you will get a welcome!' With that he left the house. His departure coincided with Gogo Magwasa's appearance and I learnt that the stranger was not her husband, but a debt collector employed by Beares Furniture Shop. He had requested the diviner to pay her H.P. instalment to him, and not directly to the firm, as she usually does. Astutely summing up his intentions, the diviner refused to do this. As she put it: 'He has problems and is trying to solve them with my money'.

She graciously accepted the video-tape and we discussed the taking of more photographs - of herself, of Baba Mancu the herbalist, and of her *indumba*. She agreed, and led me into her 'medicine room'. The sight of a large kudu horn lying among her paraphernalia intrigued me. (Later, I wondered why she had placed it there). Seeing my obvious interest, she told me the horn belonged to AmaSwazi, the musical group (mentioned earlier - see back to p.9-10). She had 'borrowed' it and used it for a client...who likes to drink beer' (this said with a hint of sarcasm and a reproving gaze). The horn had been used musically (i.e. during a song performance) - more than that the diviner would not say.

Feeling rebuffed, I busied myself taking photographs. Sensing her moodiness, I asked to photograph her in the *indumba*. She responded cheerfully enough, and dressed herself in her diviner's regalia for the shots. Quite a lot of talking took place as she dressed. She handled various items of clothing, notably the snake-skin belt, and a

circular beaded headdress - the wearing of both was obligatory at seances - used for specific ancestors. The meaning of these garments is an appeal for their protection.

The belt was 'for' her Ndau ancestor (Moripa, see p.12), who had 'shown' her how to make it. Likewise, the headdress came from the same ancestor, who demanded that she obtain and/or make such items. According to Gogo Magwasa, one is totally dependent on one's ancestors, and they can be very demanding, always 'asking for this and that'. Sometimes (as in her case) their demands are excessive and she has not been able to comply with all the demands, owing to lack of finance.

This conversation was the real starting point of my collaboration with, and tuition by, Gogo Magwasa. At this stage it is necessary to comment further on her 'working ancestors' on whom she is particularly dependent.

They are those ancestors who are specifically involved in rituals, and are therefore quite distinct from the ancestors as a whole i.e. 'the collective lineage (of the) dead!'

In anthropological literature, 'working ancestors' are referred to as 'communicating ancestors' (see Hammond-Tooke (ed) 1974:29) and, among the Nguni, they include '...lineage ancestors who...form a point of segmentation between segments in the lineage genealogies' (ibid).

In other words, these ancestors are the nearest direct deceased descendants (father or grandfather) going right back to the founder of the clan, including other important

lineage members who are 'called upon' by their living descendant i.e. the diviner.

Anthropological evidence indicates that personal names and not praise names (*isiduko*=Xhosa; *isibongo*=Zulu) are used in the naming of these ancestors (see Hunter 1979:248). From the information divulged to me by Gogo Magwasa (and she deliberately withheld answers to some of my questions) it appears that her 'working ancestors' (see names p.11-12) are both paternal and maternal.

After taking photographs of her in her diviner's dress, I was permitted to photograph her set of *amathambo*. Quite unexpectedly, this expanded into a fairly detailed explanation and demonstration of bone-throwing, in which the diviner gave me more information about the procedures therein (see Chapter 3, p.197-206).

Since I had to give Gogo Morwadi a copy of the tape, I drove to her house to present it to her, using borrowed transport as my car was still giving problems. However, the diviner was not home and so I returned home with my mission unfulfilled.

Being forced to use borrowed transport restricted my activities severely. I was grateful for the loan of a car, but it was available at certain times only. The nature and extent of my own vehicle's faults were such that I was forced to undertake the repairs myself. All these frustrations, together with my uneasy relationship with the diviner (Gogo Magwasa), most likely contributed to feelings of despondency which threatened to swamp me. I sincerely

regretted the dispute with the diviner (over the photographs and tape), as I did my intractability when I refused to drink all the beer. I felt that, in both situations, I had somewhat committed an irretrievable blunder. I had mixed feelings of indignation (at the accusations of deception), and guilt (because I had been tactless).

This initial stage of active research in the townships taught me a major lesson in fieldwork that, whenever things appear to be going smoothly, then a new challenge - even a setback - is almost certain to present itself.

Urgent car repairs prevented further fieldwork for almost a fortnight. On resuming it, I just missed seeing Gogo Magwasa at her home and at Gogo Morwadi's house where she had been visiting. This was unfortunate as I wished to give Gogo Magwasa her copy of the seance video. However, I was warmly welcomed by Gogo Morwadi who had been informed by her *amadlozi* of my spontaneous decision to pay a visit. She was preparing for an *intlombe* - scheduled for the following weekend, and she showed me all the libations of home-brewed *umqombothi*^e which were standing in the back yard.

We entered her *indumba* - a corrugated iron shack much like Baba Manci's, only smaller and completely dry inside, in spite of the heavy rains of the past few weeks. The *indumba* had a neat display of assorted herbs, roots and bark arranged in open milk bottles and other glass containers. Each bore a label with the contents - in the vernacular - printed thereon (see Plate no.8, p.349). Gogo Morwadi answered all my questions about these contents with great patience. She informed me that all the plant material had

been gathered by herself in her home country, Swaziland. It was essential to do this, hence the need to 'go home' periodically.

As Wilson and Mafeje have pointed out: Diviners '...practise in town...but they are rooted in the country.' In Gogo Morwadi's case, her 'thwasa (neophyte) was due to graduate as a fully-fledged diviner, hence the other, main reason for 'going home' to Swaziland. As for me, I was told I would benefit by seeing a 'real *intlombe*', ...a better (implied) 'I would see something different there' [*intlombe*] than those here. I would even see '...the 'thwasa (*umthwasa*) going under the water in the river.' (This was a reference to a ritual procedure about which I knew nothing at the time. See p.79, note 11 for explanation thereof).

Various methods of curing prolonged illnesses and protection were also discussed. 'I can fortune people, I can tell what is wrong with them, and how to make them right. I can fortune with my *amathambo* (contained in a small woven grass bag), or with my hat' (*umyeke*=Xh.headdress).

From this initial explanation and the many demonstrations and disclosures which followed in the months ahead, it became clear that, although divination by bone throwing is the most common technique of Sotho doctors, it is one also used extensively by Gogo Morwadi. In addition to this, she is a mediumistic diviner, and also practices the *-vumisa* ('consenting') method of divination which is most common among Nguni diviners (see Chapter 3, p.197-204).

Although Gogo Magwasa had promised to teach me bone-throwing, her business activities prevented her from so doing, but she found time to take me to Baba Manci for a photograph session.

It was in Manci's *indumba* that I saw an extraordinary looking object: a spherical black object, roughly the size of a small football, and made of a mutable dense substance. A number of evenly-spaced porcupine quills had been inserted into this object, around its circumference and slightly off-centre. In addition, a number of 20c, 10c and 2c coins adhered to the object (see Plate no.3 & 4, p.344-345). Fascinated by this, I questioned Baba Manci about it. He referred to it as *ibaso*, and used it to 'improve business'. The sphere was actually made from shredded paper money, mixed with some sort of paste (a herbal mixture of which I was given no further information except that knowledge as to the preparation thereof was given to him by his ancestor in a dream). Keen to learn more about *ibaso*, I asked Baba Manci whether he could ensure success in my own 'business' of making musical instruments. He nodded his assent, but stipulated the 'need' for 'something' - (i.e. cash) in order to proceed; this was necessary for the ancestors to 'come through' and assist him. I gave him the only money I had on me - a R20 note - which he accepted.

Taking a small section of *ibaso* from another source, he rolled it into a cone-shaped funnel, then placed it with some *imphepho* into a flat tin lid, and set the *imphepho* alight. The concoction burnt steadily like a candle, and emitted a very faint, not unpleasant odour. Placing the R20 note under the lid, Baba Manci handed the 'offering' to me,

and ordered me to kneel down and 'pray to [my] ancestors and God to help [me]'. (I was permitted to pray silently). I remained in this position for some four minutes, during which the *ibaso* burnt to ashes. These were taken by Manci, together with the R20 note. Retaining the latter, he told me to maintain this ritual regularly at my place of work, and gave me a plastic bag containing small quantities of *ibaso* and *imphepho*. I also received an injunction from Gogo Magwasa who had observed the whole procedure in silence: 'You must pray to the ancestors and to God!' This led me to enquire about her faith in God, and she told me that she attended church regularly, unless clients prevented her from so doing.

Before I left, Baba Manci (probably having heard about my childhood 'hobby' of collecting snakes for pets, from Gogo Magwasa), asked me to obtain a snake skin for him. Since I no longer pursue such a hobby, I told him that I was unable to oblige him. On hearing this, he mentioned an even more extraordinary request - for an elephant hide - an *mbira*, ...a lion skin, all of which I had to turn down. His request for something within my reach - a calabash - came as a relief and I promised to obtain one for him. Such calabashes are recognised as receptacles 'holding' the ancestors (see p.23, where I have referred to this).

Some weeks after my first meeting with Gogo Magwasa, she suffered a personal crisis which directly affected my fieldwork activities, and also gave me unexpected insights into the parameters of ancestral sanctions concerning taboos, and the concept of *umlaza* (ritual impurity). Gogo Magwasa's brother fell 'ill' in that he was involved in a

car accident. As a result of this accident, the young man was left mentally unstable. He allegedly returned to Johannesburg where he had been living with his 'girlfriend', apparently receiving treatment from a local diviner. His purported death and his apparent resurrection somewhere on the Rand (supported by the testimony of several persons who had actually 'seen' him) created a crisis in Gogo Magwasa's life. To make matters worse, the death of her father-in-law in her home a short while before the alleged resurrection, made for an untenable situation: death being contaminative and pollutive, it left the diviner in a state of ritual impurity (see discussion thereof, p.137). Thus the condition of *umlaza*, and the controversial circumstances surrounding her brother's 'death' ('...his grave is in Langa, you can see it there') had to be dealt with forthwith. They had made Gogo Magwasa very vulnerable to the schemes of witches and sorcerers who might be ill-disposed towards her. As she herself put it: 'I am now in the dark; my *amadlozi* have gone away'. This absence of the ancestors is seen as a life-threatening situation and the only means by which the 'lost person' can be restored to a proper relationship with the ancestors is by ritual washing in running water. According to Gogo Morwadi, Gogo Magwasa was extremely vulnerable to the evil inclinations of *abathakathi*, and was being 'drawn into a trap'. The ramifications of this trap became clearer when Gogo Morwadi explained that the 'dead' brother's girlfriend was herself an agent of *abathakathi*. It was considered necessary to take steps to rectify the situation and a consultation with the herbalist Baba Mancu was absolutely necessary. Gogo Magwasa's intention to travel to Johannesburg to retrieve her brother was viewed with misgivings because Gogo Magwasa

was almost certainly being '...led into a trap' ...laid by *abathakathi* who were using her brother (whom they had abducted with the help of his girlfriend) to bring her (Magwasa) to Johannesburg.

I was informed that the city (and surrounds) was the home of truly evil witches who '...even used human parts like the head and genitals to work their evil powers', and that on one occasion, an agent of theirs '...had been caught by the police, whilst driving about with no less than five human heads in the car boot'. In view of this serious, and even life-threatening situation, it was decided that the herbalist Baba Manci should be consulted. Accordingly, I drove Gogo Morwadi to Manci's *indumba* ('dispensary'), only to find that he was not there. As it turned out, he arrived just 10 minutes after our arrival, and, after showing me some beaded calabashes decorated by his mother, the matter of Gogo Magwasa was discussed.

Gogo Morwadi's misgivings about Gogo Magwasa's forthcoming trip to Johannesburg were shared by Mr Manci, and while he mulled over the problem, I ventured to ask why a potential trap could not be verified by Gogo Magwasa herself, throwing the bones. Gogo Morwadi replied that such divination was not effective, since Gogo Magwasa's condition was the real problem; until she underwent ritual cleansing she was in a vulnerable state, and susceptible to the evil machinations of witches and sorcerers. My next question was anticipated by Gogo Morwadi's husband Mike, who, humorously emulating my inquiring tone of voice, asked whether Gogo Morwadi herself could not use the bones for the same reason. Replying to his own question (for my benefit), he stated that she could

and the Holy forces will be with us in our struggle' (Cecil is a Christian).

When Gogo Magwasa was ready we left for Guguletu, to look for the 'unknown' diviner. After some unsuccessful attempts, we found such a person, who actually lived quite near to Gogo Morwadi. His name is Gogo Sukhwini, and his home is located in Guguletu NY 50. From the outside, his house resembles the average council house one finds in the townships; the interior, however, is much larger and more spacious than any council house I have ever entered. There is a foyer which leads into a very spacious dining-room area on the left-hand side and a large lounge area on the right. There were two men sitting in the lounge, and one of them presented a most imposing sight, even though he was seated. He was immense in girth, with arms and a head which were relatively small in proportion to his body, to the extent that I felt that he was possibly physically deformed. When he stood up, I realised that he was not deformed, but as immense in stature as he was in girth. This was my first meeting with Gogo Sukhwini. He instructed us to go to his *indumba* (a tin shed situated in the back yard) and to await his arrival there. The back yard was an area devoid of all vegetation, comprising sandy soil and in which a few chickens scratched about, in search of food. A white goat-skin lay drying in the sun, which did not have much strength in its rays, as a very strong wind was blowing.

It was a bleak and desolate scene, even a forbidding one, and entry into the *indumba* seemed infinitely preferable to remaining out-of-doors. Before entering the *indumba* we removed our shoes (essential, and a sign of 'respect' for

the ancestors) and then seated ourselves on a couple of rickety benches which were leaning against the walls of the room. The latter was approximately 4 x 2,5m in size and comprised two main sections). One of these - on the entrance side of the shed - was cluttered with empty bottles, boxes and other scrap material, while the other section contained a tidier arrangement of furniture and an assortment of material, including various animal skins (mainly of small rodents), which were hanging on the wall, and from a length of wire strung across the ceiling. (See Plates no.10 & 11, p.351-352). There was only one window in the shed, with a broken pane through which the wind howled, causing a large sheet of plastic inside to flap about noisily. While waiting for Gogo Sukhwini to appear, the diviners and the menfolk spoke among themselves in subdued voices. Somehow, the somewhat ominous atmosphere in the room demanded this. As they spoke, my attention was caught by a large object in the centre of the floor, which I initially assumed to be a tree trunk, carved into an unusual shape: it resembled an enormous elephant head, minus the trunk, having protruding floppy ears, and a mishapen 'tail'. This 'carving' was perhaps 40cm high with a maximum diameter of 25cms (at the widest part). Seeing my curiosity, Mike asked me whether I knew what the object was. After some consideration, I replied that from a certain angle the thing resembled a shark, with an elephant's head, all carved from a solid piece of wood. To my great astonishment, Mike told me that the object was 'one of Gogo Sukhwini's *amathambo* ('bones'). A closer look revealed that the object was indeed a single one i.e. made from one main bone section and subsequent remarks from Mike confirmed this. The object appeared to be a section of the backbone of a large creature - an elephant

or whale. At one end was an abalone shell (perlemoen) which contained *imphepho*. At the other end - where the 'tail piece' protruded - were pieces of dried star fish and a partly burnt portion of red bait. Lying on the floor approximately 30cm away from the whale or elephant bone were a number of small rodent bones, a whelk shell and other sorts of shells, and a number of black objects unidentifiable by me. (See Plate no.10, p.351).

A closer scrutiny of the objects revealed some dark-brown nutshells and a flat stone, also among the array of objects near to the big bone. My inspection of the object was interrupted by a sudden command from Gogo Morwadi to 'Sit down!' ('*Hlala phantsi!*'). I hurriedly resumed my place on a bench, at which the others laughed. To cover my confusion, I began to prepare my tape recorder which was concealed in a carry bag. Mike's loud remark about this drew more laughter from the others at the apparent absurdity of recording a -*vumisa*. Although they knew I wanted to record the -*vumisa* session, I felt that Gogo Sukhwini might not permit me to do so and I feared he might react violently to the suggestion. But the opportunity was not to be missed and I began to think up a means of recording the event without detection. My preoccupation with plans to do this was violently interrupted by a fearful animal-like cry which came from just outside the open door leading into the lounge. My immediate reaction was to release the Pause button on my recorder in order to set the recording mechanism in motion - and I hoped that the clicking sound this procedure made was not audible to the diviner who was obviously about to enter the room. For a few seconds after the click there was silence in the room, broken only by the intermittent noisy

flapping of the sheet of plastic with each gust of wind blowing through the broken window pane.

Shortly after the weird cry, the figure of the diviner loomed large in the doorway. He walked with the aid of a walking stick, ornamented with beadwork, and he was dressed in semi-casual western clothes, which contrasted strongly with the strands of blue-and-white beads hanging in fronds from his neck. He wore a bracelet of white beads on his right wrist - the insignia of a fully-fledged Xhosa diviner, as I subsequently learnt. Walking slowly and regally, he made his way to a small plastic-covered chair, the size of which seemed unlikely to be able to contain his weight. But it did, although not without some creaking and sagging. Diviner Sukhwini then initiated proceedings by burning a substantial amount of *imphepho* in the abalone shell, and placed the dried red bait into the 'medicine'. It smoked furiously and the diviner removed the mixture from its bony locality and placed it on a shelf on the wall. The wind coming through the broken window pane fanned the flames of the concoction to such an extent that a blanket hanging on the wall was set alight and had to be hurriedly put out. Shortly thereafter, Diviner Sukhwini began talking in a very soft voice, as if to himself (see tape and transcription: Appendix C, p.329).

Although I was unable to follow the muted speech, the other people present were able to do so. When the talking ended, Cecil discreetly informed me, by way of explanation, that Gogo Sukhwini had 'seen' Magwasa's brother in a vision or daydream (*iphupharha*). He appeared to be surrounded by many

people - a situation that was threatening - and from which the diviner concluded that a trip to Johannesburg was not a wise procedure. Instead, Sukhwini advised that the man be brought to Cape Town by means of 'medicines'. How this was to be achieved was not yet clear: Sukhwini would have to sleep on the matter, and hopefully a solution would present itself in a dream. As far as I was concerned, I was requested to go to 'the mountain' and fetch a quantity of running water, and to bring it to Sukhwini's place on the following Saturday morning. The water was a crucial component in the 'medicine' and ritual which was needed to 'bring back' Magwasa's brother. These injunctions concluded the -vumisa session and as we left the indumba of Gogo Sukhwini, Gogo Morwadi placed an amount of R40 on the floor, in payment for the consultation.

Early the next day I set off to the slopes of Table Mountain, armed with a container, and obtained some running water from the streamlets which cascade down the mountainside. Thereafter, I drove into the township to fetch Gogo Magwasa and Baba Mancu from their respective homes. Approximately 90 minutes later, when Gogo Magwasa had prepared herself for the day's events, we left for Guguletu to fetch Gogo Morwadi as planned. En route to her home, Gogo Magwasa told me that it was no longer necessary to fetch her (Gogo Morwadi) and instructed me to proceed directly to Gogo Sukhwini's place. Rather taken aback at what seemed to me an inexplicable and discourteous act, I insisted on driving to Gogo Morwadi's house, as I was sure she would be awaiting our arrival. My insistence displeased Gogo Magwasa, whose mood was apparently shared by Cecil; he

made some comment about the whole matter being essentially 'family business' (implying that Gogo Morwadi, as an outsider had no part of it), and added that the latter 'had not really 'seen anything', and that what she thought she had 'seen' was just 'a passing thought'. I was immediately aware of feelings of suspicion and even jealousy on the part of Gogo Magwasa; her action, and remarks, seemed to be aimed at trying to discredit Gogo Morwadi and her divining abilities. She seemed to overlook the fact that it was the latter who had voiced her suspicions about Magwasa's possible entrapment/ensnarement by witches, and who had prescribed a counter-measure, to avoid such entrapment. Somewhat disgruntled - and even annoyed - I ignored the remarks and drove on to Gogo Morwadi's home. As I had thought, she and her husband were waiting for us, and without much ado, we drove to Gogo Sukhwini's house.

On arriving there, we were told to go directly to his *indumba*, but on this occasion we were not asked to remove our shoes. On my querying the reason for this, Gogo Morwadi replied that no *-vumisa* was to take place, thus entry into the *indumba* barefoot was not necessary. Gogo Sukhwini's entry into the little room was not as dramatic as the previous one: he walked into the room wearing the same dress and beaded necklace, but he did not burn any *imphepho*. He again seated himself in the small plastic chair and briefly informed us that he in fact, did not see any chance of misfortune if Gogo Magwasa went ahead as planned to Johannesburg ('the way is clear'). After accepting the river water I had collected, he stood up to leave the room. No payment was made after this consultation.

My wish to take photographs was conveyed to the diviner, who agreed on condition that I exclude him from the photographs, since he was not wearing traditional diviners' regalia. As I took photographs, the other people present looked on with some amusement, as if they were humouring a child. Thereafter, we all returned to Gogo Morwadi's house where she told us about a dream she had had, many years before, about Gogo Sukhwini. At this crucial moment, my tape-recorder malfunctioned but I was able to make detailed notes of the diviner's account of her dream.

Gogo Morwadi: 'Long ago before I became a diviner, I went to that man's house. Everything looked just as it does now, and that man (Sukhwini) was there. He wore no clothes, but he was just as large and fat as he is today. He became frightened when he saw me and kept his distance from me, even when I entered his house. As I walked towards him, he backed away, turned and walked out of the house and into the back yard. There was a big hole in the ground and it was full of snakes. Sukhwini picked up a snake and he pointed it at me - as if to say keep away - and it hissed at me.'

By way of explanation, Gogo Morwadi recounted how she visited the diviner to tell him of her dream. When she arrived at his house he showed fright, and refused to listen to her or even speak to her - 'just like in the dream'. Since that day, she had not laid eyes on him until this situation of Gogo Magwasa arose. Cecil's comments on the diviner's dream are interesting: he voiced Gogo Morwadi's interpretation of it (so he said, and the diviner did not deny it): the dream was a sign that Sukhwini was 'not all that he seemed to be' (i.e. a possible 'fraud'), and that he

'could not be trusted'. The snakes were particularly significant, being symbolic of 'great evil', and suggesting Sukhwini's possible involvement with *abathakathi*.

At this point the stresses and strains of the whole situation began to tell on me. It was all totally beyond my comprehension, and cross-currents of jealousy and intrigue added to the complexity of the situation. Feeling very uneasy and confused, I had no choice but to go along with events as they took place.

On the journey back to Gogo Magwasa's house, Cecil announced that I should 'take them all to Johannesburg' in order to 'fetch' the diviner's 'lost brother'. Since no plans had been discussed, and the exact whereabouts of the brother were still being disputed, I voiced my reluctance to make such a trip. It would be expensive, and it might well prove to be a wild goose chase. (I had a mental picture of myself driving aimlessly about the Rand in search of someone who might well be dead). Not wishing to sound rude, I suggested that the brother's girlfriend be contacted, in order to confirm the existence and whereabouts of the 'lost' brother. Cecil agreed to this (Gogo Magwasa said nothing at all), and added that he would phone me that evening, to give me further details. He did not do so and I must admit that I was relieved, in the circumstances. But the matter was not yet at an end. On the following day, Cecil phoned me to say that we could 'depart for Johannesburg immediately'. Completely taken aback, I asked whether the girlfriend had been contacted, to which Cecil replied that attempts to communicate had failed because 'the phone was dead'. His reassurance that all was 'O.K.' did nothing to convince me.

I refused to travel anywhere until proper arrangements had been made. My growing suspicions about the whole affair of travelling to the Rand were confirmed by several phonecalls from Cecil during the next fortnight, informing me that contact with the girlfriend was impossible, for a variety of vague reasons. In desperation, I disclosed all these negotiations to Gogo Morwadi, who stated emphatically that I should NOT make a journey to Johannesburg. I was very irritated at Cecil's behaviour. I also felt that I was being made use of as a means of transport, thus I decided not to travel to the Rand. I heard no further mention of the trip and had no further contact with Gogo Sukhwini.

I did not return to the township until four days later, when I visited Gogo Morwadi. I found her husband, Mike, hanging a number of animal skins (including seal skins) on the walls of the *indumba*. A fetid odour emanated from the back yard, which was littered with pieces of uncooked meat above which clouds of bluebottle flies buzzed 'angrily'. The smell and the general scene of decay was nauseating and it was with great difficulty that I remained in the yard. Gogo Morwadi appeared and requested that I convey her and Mike to the beach in order to contact offshore fishermen, from whom they hoped to collect unwanted catch - sharks, shock fish and other sea materia. I immediately envisaged my car boot being stuffed to capacity with reeking matter and the picture made me feel physically debilitated. However, I could not refuse Gogo Morwadi and we set off, Mike requesting that a school teacher friend be fetched to join the collecting party. We found the teacher - a lady - accompanied by a Xhosa clergyman. As we waited for the lady to get ready for the excursion, I chatted to the clergyman,

probing for his viewpoints on diviners and their work, and his notions on witchcraft and sorcery. Although the clergyman was obviously suspicious about diviners' activities generally, and constantly reiterated his Christian beliefs, what emerged clearly from our conversation was that he - like so many other church members and nominal Christians I met - support the obvious call of certain persons to the vocation of diviner (a call coming directly from the ancestors) and that there is no real, essential incompatibility between spirituality in the Christian religion and in the traditional one. Just as I left to give assistance on the beach, the clergyman informed me on the efficacy of tortoise urine in promoting a good heard of cattle: 'Do you know, if you take the urine of a tortoise and add it to the water which cattle drink, then the cows will have many calves!'

He declined the invitation to join the action on the beach, but remained inside the car (possibly the odorous task repelled him, as it did me). But since we spent the best part of the day collecting various sealife, it was not surprising that the clergyman became impatient. Noticing this, I drew Gogo Morwadi's attention to it, but she replied that she had work to do and was not concerned with the man's impatience. After all, he had come of his own accord. A number of dead seals were found floating just off-shore and all of them were skinned by Mike (see Plate no.12, p.353). Morwadi then got down to the rather messy task of inspecting the internal organs of the seals, and selecting certain parts for removal and collection. These were the skin, flippers, tail, penis, testicles and other parts unidentifiable to me. My obvious disgust and nausea

provoked amusement and even laughter from Mike. Thoroughly repelled, I returned to the car to find the clergyman in conversation with the school teacher (who up to then had remained singularly quiet). It turned out that she was just as unenthusiastic as I was about all the proceedings and as we talked, I learned that she herself had no great faith in the treatment of illnesses by diviners. The clergyman rejoined the conversation, at which point I left the car, with the tape recorder still on record. It occurred to me that I might glean some interesting information if the two people were left alone to discuss matters of divination and treatment. As it turned out, the school teacher went so far as to remove my field notes from the bag containing the recorder (which she did not realise was active), read them out aloud to the clergyman, after which both discussed my details with some laughter (especially my intention of recently noted records of their means of divination).

Having collected all that was available, we moved along the beach to find off-shore fishermen who were busy hauling in their nets. Morwadi urged us to assist them, and this we did. Mike approached a supervisor (European) and asked if we could take all the unwanted catch. Rather alarmed, the man refused our request - for reasons of 'fear' and the 'threat of witchcraft', as Mike put it. However, during the activities of hauling in the nets, we were able to collect a few sand sharks, crabs and blow fish. All of it was placed in the boot of my car. As I anticipated, the entire car soon stank of a mixture of rotting odours and continued to do so for many weeks to come, in spite of several attempts to remove the putrid smell of fish.

After the incident concerning the death of Gogo Magwasa's brother, attributable to an *umthakathi* (witch) or *ubuthakathi* (witchcraft) and my refusal to provide transport to Johannesburg, I did not see the diviner (Gogo Magwasa) for almost a month. When I eventually resumed communications with her (in early January 1990), I did so rather uneasily and I anticipated a hostile reception from her. Much to my surprise, she seemed pleased to see me, and even more pleased when I presented her with a fairly large amount of clothing. I ventured to ask her about her trip to Johannesburg and she happily recounted it. She had travelled alone by plane and on her arrival at Jan Smuts airport, she was immediately taken by her brother's girlfriend to see an *ixhwele* (Xhosa herbalist) who was a specialist in his profession: '...just as you White people have doctors who are specialists, we too have specialists - this *ixhwele* is more like a scientist, one who specializes in finding lost people and things'.¹⁰

I asked her if he had a 'special' name and she replied '*lomhlahlo*' ('to open things': from Xhosa v.-*hlahla*). The specialist invited Gogo Magwasa into his lounge, which was unfurnished, with only a few grass mats strewn on the floor. Large calabashes hung from the ceiling in all the corners of the room. Without making any enquiries, the *lomhlahlo* told Gogo Magwasa to call out her brother's name. After so doing, she immediately heard her brother's reply emanating from the calabashes. (At this point in the narrative I rather sceptically asked the diviner if the voice was indeed that of her brother. She was adamant that it was - her brother had a lisp and was unable to articulate certain

speech sounds and the voice from the calabashes had the same traits).

The *lomhlahlo* then informed Gogo Magwasa that he could actually "see" Magwasa's brother. 'He was somewhere in the bush...there was a gate, and...he was behind it...people were holding him there, like a prisoner'. Having said all this, the *lomhlahlo* added that he was unable to pinpoint the location of this place of imprisonment: to do so would take a further 3-6 weeks. It was this situation that made Gogo Magwasa return to Cape Town after paying the *ixhwele* a fee of R75 for his professional services.

During the following 10-day period I heard nothing more about this state of affairs and concluded that it had been temporarily shelved, pending further developments.

It was through Gogo Mtsila that I gained some insight into the methods of setting up a herb shop (colloquially referred to as a 'chemist') in Cape Town's townships. Gogo Mtsila's plan to do so necessitated a 'business trip' to Durban and it soon became evident in a conversation between the diviner and Gogo Morwadi that the latter was keen to accompany Gogo Mtsila to Durban, but lacked sufficient money for the journey. My own financial predicament, which restricted my fieldwork considerably (research workers suffer from a perpetual shortage of funds), prevented me from offering my assistance in the matter.

During my visit to Gogo Mtsila, the main reason for it (visit) emerged when I learnt that Gogo Morwadi was in debt to Gogo Mtsila for her official role and effort, as the most

senior diviner, and therefore the one in charge of proceedings at Gogo Morwadi's recent *intlombe* (see case study no.2). The fee entailed one white fowl; one bottle of Smirnoff Vodka and R20. The use of the white¹¹ alcoholic beverage is essential, as white is the colour of the ancestors. Initially, I was unaware of this and thought that Gogo Mtsila preferred Vodka to the other customary spirit-brandy. However, I soon learned that the diviner did not even drink; it is because it is 'white' it is *amadlozi* drink, and was used in a special ritual, being spilt on to the ground as a libation to the ancestors and thereafter offered to guests at the ritual.¹²

The numerous excursions to various localities collecting materia (animal, vegetable and mineral) gave me an opportunity to observe collecting procedures. But perhaps the greatest value these occasions had for me was the fact that I came out of the field deeply impressed by the integrity, dignity and ability of my informants. Above all, I came back with wider sympathies and wider horizons. Sea organism, vegetable matter and sea animals (creatures) are an important source of diviner's materia but they are always collected and never slaughtered.

Dead seals frequently wash up on the beaches, and the presence of these carcasses is reported by fishermen who are constantly in contact with the diviners. An arrangement was agreed upon between them that dead seals, sharks and other unwanted sea creatures would be left in places regularly visited by the diviners. On one occasion we (Gogo Morwadi, Mike and myself) arrived at Simonstown beach. We found the place deserted except for three large sharks (each

approximately 1.5m long) lying in a row on the sand.. We took them (not without difficulty) and deposited them in the boot of my car, smelling rankly of rotten meat; indeed, the fetid odour pervaded the entire car. I was told that the liver oil of sharks is essential in the treatment of epileptic fits and other conditions.

My early experiences of medicine collecting were traumatic, as I was quite unprepared for the vast variety of different materia used, and the means by which it is obtained. Excursions were sometimes preceeded by *-phahla* in the *indumba*, an action necessary to let the *amadlozi* (ancestors) know where one is going and to ensure their protection and assistance,. A bucket, a bag, a knife and an axe were the usual tools taken on collection trips (although I initially had some doubts as to the need for an axe). My doubts were soon expelled when on arriving at Strandfontein beach, we found a large dead seal washed up on the shore. Mike immediately set about skinning the seal (*inja lwandle* - 'sea dog'), and laughed all the while at my refusal to help him (see Plate no.11, p.353). It was a lengthy process taking about 30 minutes, and during it I received an explanation on the uses of seal skin: it was dried and ground to a fine powder, mixed with other ground herbs, and burnt like *imphepho*, to drive away 'dirty stuff' and to bring 'good luck'. Although the liver was sometimes used in the preparation of medicines, Mike did not remove it that day (for reasons not given to me). The axe was then used to decapitate the carcasses, after which I was instructed to cover the head and skin with sea sand. They were placed in the bag and casually deposited in my car boot. Other materia collected that day included:

- *isiduli iselwandle* (rock from the sea, used in pulverized form, with other herbs for 'good luck');
- See skille (Afrikaans - sea shells) being cuttle fish, also used in powdered form with other ground herbs to cure excessive bleeding;
- Dead blaasvis ('blow-fish') (see Chapter 2, p.128).

Medicine collecting excursions became an established routine and although they took up much time and money, I felt obliged to comply with requests to provide transport as I was likely to learn much about the diviner's personal use of medicines.

One such trip to Glen Cairn (see Plate no.13, p.354) introduced me to some interesting examples of medical treatment based on sympathetic association between materia and illness or complaint. I have discussed these later on (see Chapter 2, p.128) where reference is made to the use of sea anemone (*emfayese*) and sea urchins (*incwade*).

The legality of these operations worried me somewhat. As much as two large bags of sea creatures were collected at a time and I fully anticipated the possibility of being arrested by the police, or sea-environment custodians. Furthermore, some of the materia was extremely difficult to collect, being located on rocks at some distance from the sea shore. One was, at times, forced to wade in waist high water, clamber on to slippery rocks and risk being totally drenched by large waves which continuously pounded the rocks. On several occasions I was soaked to the skin, if not by the sea, then by the rainy weather. But such dangers

did not deter Gogo Morwadi and Mike, who collected regardless of the weather conditions and very low temperatures. Only an exceptionally heavy downpour made them relinquish their task - and that because they were unable to see below the sea water surface.

Early in February 1990 I paid a social call to Gogo Magwasa to see her and to obtain further details concerning a particular aspect of my research.

I arrived at her house with some photographs of her last *intlombe*. Although she was pleased to see me, she added that she was very exhausted from 'too much work', which was a sensitive way of indicating to me that she would not be able to see me for long. Dressed in full diviners' regalia, I learned she had just returned from Kuilsriver, where she had been treating some people for a certain type of rash. The treatment involved making incisions into the skin and the administering of certain medicine to the cuts. It was at this point that she told me of a vivid dream she had had very recently. In this dream, a deceased relative from her father's family came to see her. "I had seen him before in a dream, but he was then dressed in white overalls. In this new dream, he had a shawl draped around him and he held a knobkierrie [knobbed stick] in one hand and an elephant-hide suitcase in the other. He carried the case over his shoulder [like a mealie sack understood]. He looked at me, and then told me to go to Umtata in the Transkei. He directed me to take a bus and go to a river called Cihoshe. Do you know it, Gavin?" When I shook my head, she continued: "He said I must take with me a white chicken and a bottle of vodka, and wait at the river for him. He also

told me to buy a black and white cow, but it had to be black in front, up the front legs and shoulders, and the middle must be white. However, when he told me all this he did not state exactly WHEN I should go." When Gogo Magwasa awoke, the vivid dream left her confused and uncertain as to its meaning. In order to interpret it properly, she needed the assistance of Gogo Morwadi, and she planned to go and consult the latter.

I wondered how the diviner was so certain that the man in her dream was, in fact, an ancestor (*idlozi*), from her father's side of the family and I voiced my curiosity. The diviner replied that she knew he was a paternal *idlozi* because "he was on my right-hand side" (she patted her right shoulder). "If he had put his hand here (indicating her left shoulder) "then I would know that he was from my mother's side of the family". Having given this explanation, Gogo Magwasa added that she would have to have a consultation with her grandmother about the dream. Her grandmother was deceased, and was buried in Langa. When I asked her why she did not consult her immediate parents, her mother and father, Gogo Magwasa replied that their graves were a long way away - in Johannesburg.

The importance and significance of dreams is such that all dreams are believed to be capable of interpretation, and that the ancestors commonly communicate in dreams with their living relatives (a fact that is well documented in anthropological literature). However, in view of what Gogo Magwasa told me, it appears that, for her at any rate, consultation with a deceased relative is more efficacious if it takes place at the graveside of that relative.

After April 1990, my visits to the townships became increasingly irregular. I was now caught up in the collating of my research material, the analysis of the recorded music and the presentation of it all in dissertation form. However, since I valued the friendship of all my informants who had been so generous of their time and expertise, I periodically returned to see them. These visits were purely social, for pleasure and not for collecting data.

As it happened, an incident of theft involving a friend forced me to consult Gogo Morwadi and to seek professional advice from her. The friend, who also teaches music at St Francis School, Langa, had her flute stolen. The police had had no success in tracing the instrument, or even the person(s) who had taken it. The instrument was valued at about R10,000 and apart from this, my friend found herself in difficulties as she had no instrument with which to teach. Both of us consulted Gogo Morwadi to find out whether she could assist us in retrieving the flute.

When we visited Gogo Morwadi I noticed that, in my absence, several changes had occurred in her home. A push-button telephone had been installed and her husband, Mike, had become a partner in a liquor outlet (the selling of *umqombothi* primarily). Brian, Morwadi's son, had purchased a projector and intended to go into 'film' business - in what capacity he did not say. Gogo Morwadi was not happy about her husband's business venture for two main reasons: (i) she fully expected him to continue to assist her in her own professional work; and (ii) the *umqombothi* business was

apparently in considerable debt. When she saw me and we exchanged greetings, she was still feeling angry about the matter and she explained his (Mike's) actions to me in some scathing comments and colourful epithets. It seemed that this letting off steam to someone she obviously considered to be an impartial observer had a soothing effect, because having said what she did, we were able to discuss other matters, including the reasons for my visit.

On hearing about the theft and our request for aid, she replied that she was not capable of 'seeing' (possibly who stole the flute) but that she 'would think about it'. She then invited us to accompany her to visit Mike at the liquor outlet. To my surprise, it was located on the premises of a funeral undertaker whom I had met just a few months previously. It turned out that he had changed his employment but the old sign still hung over the entrance, hence my initial surprise on seeing it. Mike was nominated Treasurer of the business and he was locked in a room counting money when we arrived. When he came outside to see us, he proudly showed us over the premises. A large corrugated iron building was situated behind the business frontal, and housed large quantities of commercially-produced *umqombothi*, stored in large 25-litre plastic containers. A small group of men stood alongside a table, counting small change. Several rooms adjoined this large iron structure, one of which served as a 'main lounge area' for larger groups of people. It was vacant at the time. All the other rooms were packed to capacity with individuals, talking and laughing loudly and consuming *umqombothi*. On seeing us, and in particular the European lady with us, the noise subsided somewhat and many pairs of

eyes fastened on my friend. Feeling decidedly uncomfortable, we decided to leave the place quickly as we were not anxious to provoke any sort of incident. When we subsequently spoke to Mike about our matter of the flute, it was decided that he should take us to a diviner whom Gogo Morwadi felt would be able to assist us. Enquiries were made as to the availability of the diviner on that same day, but we were unable to see him, owing to the lateness of the hour (18h45). We planned to visit him on the following day, and we did so; Gogo Morwadi, my friend and myself.

The diviner is apparently wellknown to many sections of the Cape Town community; his place of consultation is well advertised, having a neon sign above the front doorway which reads 'Herbalist and Spiritualist' (in English). We did not enter immediately, however, but were instructed by a young girl at the house to wait 'around the back'. On arriving there, we found one other client, sitting on a single wooden bench, obviously waiting for her turn with the diviner. We waited for approximately 20 minutes, during which Gogo Morwadi instructed us not to say anything about our reasons for consulting the diviner. This was to be a kind of 'test', intended to indicate whether or not the diviner was a valid one. "If he is, he will know already the reason why we have come to see him".

As we waited, we spoke at random about many things other than our business. I noticed that the diviner used the back entrance to his house as an access for his clients; obviously he worked from home. The client before us was called inside and she remained there for only two minutes before she returned, and resumed her waiting on the bench.

A short while later we were called into the house. A young woman ushered us into a small room adjoining the lounge (featuring modern furniture and a large television set). The room was bare, apart from some wooden benches which lined the walls, a small chair leaning against another wall, and a small high table which held a large metal dish, obviously used for the burning of *imphepho*. This was clearly the diviner's consulting room. After a brief wait, a short stocky man appeared in the doorway. He wore an impressive baboon skin headdress, and was clearly annoyed about something. Seeing us, he told us - very aggressively - that he could not help us with 'this thing that you want'. (He spoke in Xhosa and Gogo Morwadi translated it to us, after the session). Although he spoke rapidly, I was able to catch the word *umlungu* ('white person') in his remark, and I subsequently thought that his refusal to help had to do with our being whites. However, when I voiced my suspicions to Gogo Morwadi later on, she emphatically denied this and said that he just could not help.

Having issued his statement, the diviner disappeared into the other room and we left, as there was no point in staying. It was only when we were settled in the car that Gogo Morwadi explained to us her interpretation of what had passed. She informed us that the client ahead of us was no such person, but a 'spy' placed there to overhear anything we might say while waiting. Calling her into the consulting room was merely a ruse, to permit her the opportunity to tell the diviner all that she overheard. We were then called in as a matter of course, and the diviner, knowing our reason for the visit, would demonstrate his alleged psychic powers by informing us why we were consulting him,

i.e. that he knew why we were there. Since we had (wisely) followed Gogo Morwadi's instruction and not even mentioned the matter of the theft in our chatting, we had not provided the 'spy' with the information which the diviner badly needed. Hence his anger and his refusal to assist us with our problem. As Gogo Morwadi saw it, the diviner had, in fact, demonstrated that he was really 'no good'.

Some weeks later the flute was retrieved in the most unexpected circumstances. I will say no more, other than to remark that, given the circumstances leading up to the return of the flute to its rightful owner, I can only agree with Gogo Morwadi's convictions that the *amadlozi* had 'found the flute and restored it to its owner'.

Any cultural research (involving cross-cultural studies) involves problems which are difficult to deal with. At times, they may even be impossible to resolve. As Hansen's detailed account of fieldwork has shown, successful fieldwork depends upon the researcher establishing good personal relationships with his/her informants. This depends upon the researcher, and his/her personal attitude, because there are few, if any, guidelines for fieldwork as such.

In spite of my awareness of a certain innate impatience and impetuosity - and which constantly surfaced during fieldwork - I think I can truthfully say that I was not unsuccessful in coping with what is the most personalized aspect of my work. But there were times when I found myself in situations which were not of my own making, and which at times threatened to stifle my aims and objectives. Such

situations arose because of the nature of my work: research into divination music and the work of the diviners.

I often found myself in such situations quite unexpectedly. They commonly occurred when my diviner informants, for reasons known only to them, decided to 'fortune' for me. These decisions were always sudden and unexpected, but I was always reluctant to undergo 'fortun^ging' because of what the bones might say and because personal matters would be dragged into the situation. I never had any say in these matters, however, because the diviners always ignored my protests and went ahead with bone-throwing. Right from the very first 'fortune' session, the bones never 'fell well' and consequently never revealed anything in my favour. In fact, certain readings, preceded by 're-throws', would leave me devastated by emotional conflicts. Thus I was never willing to undergo such experiences of personal predictions.

An incident with Gogo Dublamanzi is a good example of the kind of traumatic situation into which I was often precipitated. Gogo Dublamanzi is an educated lady who speaks English quite well. When I visited at her home with Gogo Morwadi, she permitted me to see her *indumba* - which was a small bedroom-come-consulting room (see Plate no.9, p.350). Just above the doorway was a notice which read, rather threateningly: 'Take note if you come to fortune. Don't ask too many questions. If you are not satisfied, Go!'

The *indumba* was cluttered with the usual pharmacopeia - bottles, tins, calabashes and skins piled onto shelves set into a corner of the room. I was permitted to take photographs, but not before I left the room and allowed the two diviners to consult over the matter (presumably). After a few minutes I heard a fearful noise coming from the other side of the closed door, which was then suddenly flung open to reveal Gogo Morwadi with a broomhead (no handle) on her hands and knees, industriously sweeping the floor. I was told to enter the room but to remove my shoes before so doing, out of respect for the ancestors. Having done so, I was permitted to take photographs and while busy, I noticed with alarm, that Gogo Dublamanzi was taking out her pouch of *amathambo*. (See Plate no.37, p.381).

She spread a patterned blue and white *hiya* (Swazi cloth) on the floor, sat herself before it and gathered her *amathambo* into her cupped hands. All the time she continued to talk to Gogo Morwadi, who had moved into the room opposite - a small kitchen - and closed the door behind her. I assumed that Gogo Dublamanzi wished me to photograph her with her bones but she said, abruptly, that she was going to 'fortune' for me. Utterly dismayed and bewildered, I politely replied that I did not want to be 'fortuned', but I was ignored. The diviner proceeded to rhythmically thump the *amathambo* (in her cupped hands) on the floor. Desperate by now, and determined to avoid yet another gloomy prognostication, I pleaded with the diviner to desist from the job. I told her I had no money with me and asked for a postponement of the event. However, the diviner informed me that 'it did not matter', and that I did not 'have to pay'. So saying, she threw the *amathambo* onto the patterned *hiya*.

Confused and upset at the suddenness of the event, I forced myself to appear calm and resumed taking photographs. The diviner contemplated the bones; it was evident, from her facial expression that they had fallen unfavourably, as usual. I watched her, full of mixed feelings of anger, fear and impending doom, which seemed to be in the hands of the diviner and her divining 'dice'.

Two of the dominoes had fallen face down - a bad sign - and Gogo Dublamanzi hastily picked them up, separating them from the other objects. She placed them lying face downward, to the right of the fall of *amathambo*, and intoned solemnly: 'This is not good'. She then contemplated the fall for what felt like a long time. I was unable to say anything. To have done so would have been very rude. Besides, I was virtually speechless with indignation at this point. After replacing the dominoes in their former fall position, Gogo Dublamanzi said 'You will not marry your girlfriend'. She said this with great conviction, then turned her head and spoke to Gogo Morwadi, who was seated in the kitchen. The two diviners communicated in Xhosa, through the closed door while I stood there, feeling helpless and awkward. For something to do I began to rummage among the *amathambo*, looking for other readings. Suddenly Gogo Morwadi entered the room and Gogo Dublamanzi began making more predictions - in Xhosa. She spoke rapidly and almost without taking breath and then she finished speaking. Gogo Morwadi interpreted for me.

The bones reiterated the fact that I would not marry my girlfriend because '...she does not like you to spend so much time with us. You see, you like to be among us, you do not know [practise] apartheid; you do not criticize, or talk behind our backs. The girl feels you spend too much time with us...so you will not marry'.

The implications of the entire session were becoming clear regarding my own relationship with my informants on the one hand, and my personal relationship with my girlfriend on the other. It seemed that my business interests were likely to conflict with the latter. At the same time they threatened to jeopardize my personal relationship. Further predictions by Gogo Dublamanzi clarified the matter for me and Gogo Morwadi translated them into English:

'You see, it is better that you don't marry, because when you do, you will have time for your wife but not for us'. (Gogo Dublamanzi nodded in assent).

I realised then that the diviners feared that a personal commitment - to a wife - would permit me little, if any, time to visit them. Both diviners were very interested in my work and appreciated the transport I could provide. They were adamant that I should train as a diviner - or even a herbalist. Any marriage commitment would put pay to all these and to future plans they envisaged for all of us 'setting up a chemist and making much money'.

Worried and somewhat embarrassed by these 'revelations', I tried to change the subject by asking Gogo Dublamanzi to comment on my research work (which I felt was becoming more and more of a remote issue). But the diviner had other ideas. She again gathered up the bones and shook them

rhythmically, all the while talking softly to her ancestors - but not before whispering into a cowrie shell, which she then added to the assortment of *amathambo*, which included also a 10c and a 20c coin. All these were then cast onto the *hiya*, and my eyes frantically scanned the fall for the special dominoes. Much to my relief, they had fallen face up - which was a good sign. Having read the fall, Gogo Dublamanzi spoke rapidly with Gogo Morwadi, translating her long speech into English.

'Your work will go smoothly - there will be no problems. Everything will go well, Gavin - you were brought here by the *amadlozi*. They want you to be here. They arranged it that you come to me; you see, you can meet me;' (she explains to Gogo Dublamanzi how I subsidised my first *intlombe*); 'You had to meet me because I am open. I'm not closed like the other *sangomas*. I tell you everything, the people say that you must pay, I must charge you. But I tell them No! My *idlozi* says I must help you, and I know what I'm doing - they [the people] can't tell me what to do'. [She waves her hand to indicate her rejection of their opinions]. 'And you see, Gavin, I'm not funny like other *sangomas*. I do not mess around - my heart is good'.

This lengthy and moving speech was interrupted by the ringing of Gogo Dublamanzi's telephone. She left the room to answer it and while she was out, Gogo Morwadi pointed to the two coins among the *amathambo*. They were actually touching each other and a rectangular white piece of bone lay on top of them. Gogo Morwadi said this was a sign that I would, in time (when my studies are over) make 'a lot of money'. However, she added that the rest of the fall indicated an adverse situation:

'...there is someone here whom you seek, who is jealous about what you do - it's not just one person, but several people. They are jealous because you are always happy - when you are here you always smile and are friendly to everyone - you seem to like everyone, but some people are jealous of this'.

At this point Gogo Dublamanzi returned from the telephone and neither diviners continued with the matter in hand. It was dropped suddenly and, as suddenly, we made preparations to travel to Simonstown. The journey there did nothing to restore my equilibrium and thoughts of the predicament in which I seemed to have been caught failed to be dispelled by the varied sea materia we collected. This included 3 sharks, 2 blaasvis (Blowfish), 1 octopus ('seekat'=Afr.) and 3 small seal skins.

On returning to Guguletu, I dropped Gogo Dublamanzi at her home and then drove home myself, extremely tired and still disturbed. The events of that day and similar events of 'fortuning' which had preceeded it in the months before, made me aware that an ethnomusicological research, as a cross-cultural and interdisciplinary study, may cut across a truly astonishingly wide range of disciplines - involving the study of faeces, and my own very personal relationships: in such circumstances, one cannot help but ask: whatever happened to the music?

Note:

- 1 The title Gogo' is used by all the male and female diviners with whom I came into contact, and who co-operated in this research. The term derives from the Zulu noun *ugogo* pl. *ogogo* (2.4.9), meaning 'ancestor, grandparent' (see entry in Doke/Vilakazi 1972:253). It is a title for diviners; as I subsequently found out, the title is a venerable and esteemed one, as it acknowledges the recipient's profession and special relationship with the ancestral spirits (see page 5 and p.77, note 3), for explanation of my use of the term 'ancestor'). Both the aforementioned diviners are not old, but roughly in their middle years. The Siswati meaning of the word *gogo* pl. *bogogo* ('grandmother', also 'wife from the clan of husband's grandparents') also has connotations of age (Rycroft 1981:32). The Xhosa term *ugogo* pl. *ogogo* (n.6) has a rather derogatory meaning: 'a thin dried up person, or thing' (McLaren/Bennie 1963:46). It occurs in a Walking Song (*ingoma yokuhamba*) of Xesibe *iindlavini* (young men), entitled *Sambulal' ugogo* ('Let's gill grandmother') and is an unflattering reference to an old lady who is always interfering in the love affairs of her granddaughters, who have boyfriends among the *iindlavini* (Personal communication from Hansen 1989). The Xhosa meaning of *ugogo* would seem to concur with the Zulu *u(lu)gogo* pl. *izingogo* (3.2.9.9.) and also *umgogo* pl. *imigogo* (3.2.9.9), the initial meaning in both cases being 'an emaciated person or animal' (Doke/Vilakazi loc.cit).
- 2 The Nguni comprise the Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi and Transvaal Ndebele, the latter having been strongly influenced by Sotho cultural patterns.
- 3 A number of translations of kinship terms for departed clan and lineage members appears in major published anthropological and ethnological literature. E.g. 'shade', 'ancestral shade', 'ancestor', 'seniors' (in contrast to 'survivors' those who are still living). In his impressive work on the Zulu and their religio-cultural concepts, Berglund (1989) supports the use of the term 'shade' for deceased persons of a clan or lineage, in preference to the term 'ancestor'. His reason for so doing is based on the inappropriateness

of the description 'ancestor', because it does not concur with the Zulu meaning of the word. Berglund states: '...the English idiom suggests ascendants who are dead according to Western concepts, and, as a result, there is a distance between them and the living. There is ...a separateness between the living and the dead (1989:29)

While I support Berglund's views, I have retained the term 'ancestor', because my informants (including diviners) always use it whenever they talk about their departed relatives. All their explanations about their seance rituals and activities were full of references to 'ancestors', usually an Africanized version of the English idiom. 'i-ancestor pl. ama-ancestors'.

- 4 My informants used the Zulu term when referring to their ancestors.

- 5 It takes years to learn how to read bones correctly.

- 6 A small everlasting plant, *helichrysum miconiaefolium*. See dictionary entries in: Doke/Vilakazi Zulu/English, 1972:658).

imphepho (2.3-8.9) pl. *izimphepho*. Initial meaning:

- a. Rescue, relief.
- b. Species of small everlasting plants with a sweet smell, used for burning as an offering to the spirits.
- c. Third meaning for the term is incense, referring to the smell and odour of the burnt plant material. This meaning occurs in a Zulu dictionary which refers to a diviner/doctor's professional skills, or rather, lack of it: *inyanga ayidlanga imphepho* (lit. the doctor did not eat incense, i.e. the doctor has no skill. Dictionary entry in McLaren/Bennie (Xhosa-English) concurs with Zulu secondary meaning: e.g. 1963:127). Xhosa=*imphepho* (initial meaning='a light breeze; the air'. Secondary meaning: 'an everlasting flower, or immortelle'. Siswati meanings also concur with those in the Zulu language (see Rycroft 1981:81. *imphepho* pl. *iimphepho*: (1) 'species of everlasting plant; (2) 'incense').

In his book on Zulu Thought-patterns and symbolism, Axel Berglund describes and discusses the plant, the special method of picking it and its importance and significance in Zulu (and Nguni) religious rituals. Berglund 1989:112-115). *Imphepho* is frequently

mentioned in several ethnographic and entthropological publications.

- 7 The Cape Flats includes areas allocated for 'Coloureds', as well as the Black townships.
- 8 Water in which stamped maize has been rinsed: a very light beer (McLaren/Bennie 1963:138).
- 9 The entrapment of a diviner is thus of greater value to *abathakathi* than the entrapment of an ordinary individual. A diviner's mediumistic powers would strengthen those already possessed by his/her enemies (*abathakathi*).
- 10 A variety of divining techniques are employed by the Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa. For example, '...all Nguni and some Tsonga divine by the mediumistic involvement of the diviner with tutelary ancestral shades, while the Sotho, Tsonga and Venda favour the divining dice. The Venda are unique in the possession of the divining bowl and the Lobedu (formerly) and the Tsonga and Zulu also relied on the ordeal' (Hammond-Tooke 1974:356).
(By ordeal is meant, especially the action of *mureu*, - 'especially the drinking of poison', to implicate those accused of witchcraft (op.cit.350). The same author points out that '...The Lobedu no longer rely on *mureu* because it involves too great publicity and danger of white intervention, and, since the beginning of the century, they have tended to consult the "smelling-out, diviner" (*mugome*), an institution borrowed from the Tsonga (Krige & Krige 1943:204).
- 11 The importance and significance of the colour white, which is the colour of diviners, hence the maning of white beads on the head and other parts of the body because 'white is for divination'.
Berglund endorses this among the Zulus and Brhmann, Hunter, Hansen and other authors also report on the significance of white array among the Xhosa. White is a sign of the abnormal condition among diviners, it signifies the close association with the ancestors. Xhosa male initiates customarily applied white clay to the body during the post-operative seclusion period, a sign of their temporarily abnormal state, and their seclusion from the rest of the community.

- 12 The claim that some diviners feel they have to drink excessively, in deference to the ancestors' requests for libations and which I heard on more than one occasion, was more than strenuously refuted by Gogo Morwadi's husband who said 'It is all nonsense - they (amadlozi) can't force you to drink [too much]'.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: The Research Area - The Social and Historical Background

Langa (Xhosa: 'ilanga' = 'the sun') and Guguletu (Xhosa: 'our pride') are the names of two of several Black townships in the greater Cape Town area. „ They were founded and established as part of a government-controlled, municipality-implemented strategy to (i) combat the effects of rapid population growth (e.g. overcrowding and squalor), and (ii) enforce territorial segregation, restriction of residence, movement, and employment between racial groups in the Western Cape.¹

Langa is the older of the two aforementioned townships. Begun in 1923, and established as a township four years later (1927), Langa's history may be traced back to the 1840's, when many Xhosa-speaking men coming mainly from the Eastern Cape Province, were living and working in the Western Cape region as road workers and dockhands.

During the following four decades, these migrant labourers were joined by their wives and relatives, and subsequently founded generations of Xhosa families in the greater Cape Town area. Until 1926, entry into this area was not restricted by law, and the Black population increased rapidly over the years. Dockhands were initially housed in compounds built for them by their employers, while other migrant workers found, or were allocated, accommodation in and near the city centre itself, living in single quarters in cramped and unsanitary conditions. Although these

migrant workers were assured of permanent settlements in the places they were permitted to occupy, they were ultimately forced to move to other localities for reasons which had to do with influx control and socio-economic "upliftment". (An on-going process of forced removals and relocations has, to date, been implemented upon successive generations of Blacks residing in the Western Cape region). Miserable living conditions, and a plague epidemic in 1902 compelled local authorities in Cape Town to try and stem the tide of poverty, squalor and overcrowding by establishing an 'overflow' area on the outskirts of Cape Town - a 'government reserve' that was also to be an industrial area, hence its name, Ndabeni, (locative Xhosa: 'at/in the place of business').²

In order to encourage movement to, and settlement in, Ndabeni, workers were offered accommodation at a low rental. A large number of them moved to Ndabeni, but just as many, if not more, remained within the city environs, where fast population growth and poor living conditions continued. The 'Spanish' influenza epidemic in 1918 provoked further action from the Cape Town City Council, which then took over the administration of Ndabeni and incorporated it into the greater city area. Thereafter, a new township was founded - Langa - a township that was intended to be 'a model of housing and planning' (loc.cit.4).

The establishment of a segregated area, which would meet the needs of its occupants (i.e. the availability of accommodation and the possibility of home ownership)³ was the main objective.

However, the latter proposal was eventually rejected, and the promised accommodation took the form of 'barracks' with large dormitories for single men. A small number of 'flatlets' were made available to those who wanted them, but of course, the demand far exceeded the supply of 'flatlets' available. The construction of single quarters was part of the strategy to discourage large-scale residence and population expansion in Langa. But the township expanded rapidly, and in an attempt to provide housing for the ever-increasing urban dwellers, additional accommodation in the form of 'Zones' (comprising mainly single quarters) was erected.

By 1952, the number of Black residents in the Cape Town area had reached such proportions that '...only a third was housed in the officially recognized locations - the rest were scattered throughout the city, and in the squatters' camps...' which arose on the outskirts of Cape Town, e.g. Hout Bay, Cook's Bush, Elsie's River, Kensington and Windermere.⁴

After 1955, a number of influx control regulations were passed which restricted the movement by Africans into the Western Cape, and even excluded many of them from residing there. Since then, it has been '...the avowed policy of the government...that Africans must gradually and systematically be withdrawn from the Western Cape...', despite their employers' insistence that '...existing industries and farms cannot continue to operate without them'.⁵

In 1956, another removal process took place when thousands of Africans were forced to move to another, especially

selected 'emergency camp' called Nyanga (Xhosa: '*inyanga*' = 'the moon').

Nyanga was hardly a camp; indeed, it was merely an open site, with no type of basic infrastructure, no housing of any kind, and very crude sanitation. The people who were moved there had to erect their own shelters. Furthermore, doing so did not automatically legitimize their occupation 'rights' in the camp. While a considerable number of Blacks were ultimately declared legal residents of Nyanga, many more of them were declared 'illegal aliens', and ordered to leave the camp. Since that time there has been a constant flow of Blacks to and from Nyanga, and other squatter camps which emerged later on (KTC, Crossroads), and also from Langa itself, where there has been constant tension and friction between the local authorities and those Blacks who have sought refuge and homes with relatives and friends in the face of government legislation of forced removals from these localities.

The history of Langa, and indeed of the whole Western Cape region, is marked by numerous efforts to contain an ever-expanding urban Black population by the establishment of new townships, and the forced settlement and resettlement of people within them. Such townships were racially as well as territorially segregated; they were designed to serve Blacks, so-called 'Coloureds' as well as White South Africans. In a comparatively short period of time, these areas began to expand, and to impinge on one another's boundaries. As far as Langa itself was concerned, a proposal to extend its boundary was raised, considered - and discussed. Instead, it was decided that yet another new

township should be founded, established and developed to cope with the ever-increasing influx of Eastern Cape (Ciskeian and Transkeian) migrant workers - and so Guguletu was founded.

Like Langa, '...the history of Guguletu must be fitted into the context of the removal of Blacks from areas such as Blomvlei, Qhoboshimfene (Elsies River), Windermere, Vrygrond and Athlone' (Makosana 1988:3).⁶

Thus Guguletu was just another 'new home' site, selected for the occupation of Blacks who '...had to be..."saved" from being infested with disease' (ibid).

Guguletu is situated approximately 15 kilometres from the centre of Cape Town. It is bordered by Nyanga in the east, and the 'Coloured' township of Manenberg in the west. The Guguletu area was originally known as Nyanga West, but the name was felt to be unsuitable and unacceptable by the Cape Town City Council. This body submitted ten names to the Place Names Commission, and after much deliberation the name 'Guguletu' was eventually selected and approved.⁷

Whereas Langa was partitioned into a number of 'Zones', Guguletu was divided into four main areas referred to as 'Sections', the first of which was originally Nyanga West. All four 'Sections' were established and developed independently as residential areas for Blacks. From the very beginning, Guguletu suffered from an insufficiency of housing.⁸ As Makosana points out (1988:35), 'During the past 10 years, the only houses built were in Guguletu, where

3868 units were erected between 1966 and 1972. After this date no new scheme houses were built'.

The following table, which appears in Makosana's work (1988:36) gives comparative housing statistics in Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu. The figures clearly indicate that Guguletu supports a far greater number of housing units than either Langa or Nyanga. However, the housing capacity has not been able to keep pace with the fast-growing population in Guguletu, which was totalled at 73480 in 1980 (ibid); this is reflected in the figures in the following Table.

SIZE OF HOUSE	LANGA	GUGULETU	NYANGA	TOTAL HOUSES	%GRAND TOTAL	TOTAL HABITABLE ROOMS
1 ROOM	668	130	564	1362	13,5	1362
2 ROOMS	270	-	791	1061	10,5	2122
3 ROOMS	166	7226	237	7629	75,6	22887
4 ROOMS OR MORE	18	20	-	38	0,4	152
	1122	7376	1592	10090	100,0	26523

The struggle for adequate accommodation and hygienic facilities continues up to the present time. Although a number of new homes have been built, and still more are currently under construction, few people can afford them and most of those who can are unable to secure accommodation. 'There just aren't enough houses to go round' as one informant put it.

The severe housing shortage and the peoples' attempts to find accommodation (and occupation) by all possible means, is well illustrated in an explanation given me by Diviner

Gogo Morwadi, in rather poignant circumstances. I drove her to the home of one of her clients, an infirm old man with an apparently incurable illness. This patient, and also his entire house and possessions, were to be treated with a special 'medicine' (*umuthi*) called *ibaso*. It is made from a decoction of herbs, and other substances, and gives off a powerful odour of burning flesh when it is heated. Both the patient and his house were treated by 'smoking' i.e. the burning of *ibaso*. When I enquired why the house itself had to be treated, Gogo Morwadi replied: 'It is because this ensures that other people cannot bring bad medicine into the house. You see, there are many people who would wish the old man dead - not because they dislike him, but because his death would mean another empty house for the taking. Houses are scarce here in Guguletu.'

Although the residents of Guguletu and Langa show a lively interest in politics, and incidents of "unrest" are common in both townships; Guguletu's Police force is not as well equipped (in terms of manpower, arms and vehicles) as that of Langa, which has a very large and formidable police force. The Langa Police Station is situated in the centre of the township and maintains a high profile. It is virtually surrounded by armed vehicles. It is possible that the riots in March 1960 ever present in the memories of Langa's older residents, and in the minds of younger residents, are responsible for the maintenance of a strong police force.▼

The implementation of a State of Emergency in 1985 also contributed to the presence of a strong task force in Langa. According to several informants who volunteered information

on police presence, its low profile in Guguletu is deliberate. I was told that the residents are politically very aware, and any show of force on the part of the police could easily ignite the volatile situation in the township and provoke violent reactions and even rebellion/revolution. In both Langa and Guguletu there is '...an all-pervading dissatisfaction with existing conditions generally', and the people are convinced that things will get worse before they get better.

Many of the younger residents of Langa are still active in issues which were raised and which are being continuously debated by the Black Consciousness Movement, but unlike the situation in other townships (including those reserved for occupation by 'Coloureds') Langa over the past 4 years has remained relatively free from politically motivated strife and violence. In fact, Langa residents are proud of their relatively 'trouble-free' township, and state this openly.

It is within the framework of education that Langa strives to continue the struggle for political rights and racial equality. Non-violent business boycotts and peaceful protest marches are regularly organized by school- and other institutional bodies. Although incidences of stone-throwing and burning barricades occur sporadically, on the whole Langa remains relatively free of serious political strife.

This is not the case in Guguletu, whose residents are much more active on the political front. Educational facilities are poorer and inferior to those in Langa.

Between 1960-1962 the Cape Town City Council built 'four Lower Primary Schools (Sub A to Std 2) and two Higher Primary Schools (Stds 2-6), but they are understaffed, overcrowded and ill-equipped, and consequently do little to further educational advancement in the township (Makosana 1988:58).

According to my experiences, endorsed by information from numerous informants, Guguletu residents acknowledge the fact that Langa has better-equipped schools, which offer a higher quality of education. Many Guguletu youngsters attend schools in Langa, or the better-equipped schools in the neighbouring 'Coloured' townships.

Langa is in many respects, playing a leading role in Black education. It has 4 Senior Schools and 6 Lower and Higher Primary Schools - all in close proximity to one another - and all are packed to capacity with pupils who are ambitious and eager to acquire an education. Langa High School attracts pupils from other neighbouring townships such as Guguletu and Nyanga. The St Francis Adult Education Centre is a wellknown and established modern Catholic Mission School in Langa and is very active in both educational and cultural/artistic fields. It offers people the opportunity to obtain a worthwhile Matriculation Certificate, and numerous cultural projects operate from it - e.g. tuition in Western music, including the rudiments of music and specific training in a variety of musical instruments. Tuition is given by qualified teachers, and also competent and highly motivated students (under- and post-graduates) from the University of Cape Town.

Other schools in Langa include:

- : Tembani Lower Primary (Sub A - Std 2)
- : Sabulela Primary
- : Mokone Primary
- : St Louis Higher (Std 5)
- : Zimasa (Stds 3-5)
- : Mosheshe (Stds 3-5)
- : Langa High
- : Langa Comprehensive

Although Langa does not have an infrastructure comparable with that of Guguletu, essential community services are provided by social groups belonging to various denominational churches. There is a main shopping centre in Langa and also one garage, a number of cafs (many of them run as outlets from private houses) and an unknown number of liquor outlets (shebeens).

By comparison, Guguletu has a more advanced infrastructure. There are three garages, numerous small shopping centres, a Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet and a large Liquor store. Guguletu also boasts the wellknown entertainment venue and night-club, The Yellow Door, which frequently hosts Black musical groups of all kinds. The number of Black musicians who have established reputations as first-class performers at The Yellow Door, is considerable, and the venue continues to attract people of all races across the Peninsula and further afield, who want to hear a great variety of excellent performances of Black music. Apart from such live entertainment, this club also runs a modern discotque.

As in Langa, the legal liquor outlets are outnumbered by the many shebeens which continue to operate in the township, despite procedures to close them down.

Khayelitsha (Xhosa: 'new home') is a comparatively new township which did not feature significantly in my fieldwork. Nevertheless, since I attended a 'small' *intlombe* in this area, and came to know a few of its residents in the course of my research, I think it is appropriate that I make some comments about it.

Although Khayelitsha is the youngest of all Cape Town's townships, it is also the largest. It was founded in order to provide yet another 'home' for surplus residents in existing townships in Cape Town (i.e. Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu and the squatters' camps of Crossroads and KTC) who would be moved there.

The plan to establish the new African township was announced by the Government in April 1983. Residents of the already existing, aforementioned townships, objected strongly to the announcement and subsequently the Government changed its initial proposal incorporating 'forced removals' to other areas. Nevertheless, the concept, and the reality - the location of Khayelitsha - as a 'satellite' city on the edge of Cape Town, to be set aside for the housing of the very poorest of the black community, was maintained.¹⁰ Like Nyanga, Crossroads and KTC, Khayelitsha had the bleakest of beginnings.¹¹

Like Crossroads, Khayelitsha began as a shantytown on a large area of desolate land allocated for Black settlement. It rapidly developed into a huge tract of muddy roads and quagmires, on which people existed wretchedly in tents

(contrived from black plastic bags and other collected materials) and tin shacks.

Building materials were virtually non-existent, so all available pieces of wood and corrugated iron (cardboard and plastic sheeting) were used to erect 'pondokkies' on the sands. There was no proper sanitation, no electricity (including street-lighting) and the only water available was obtained from a number of communal taps, set up on the side of the main 'roads'.

Even today, some six and a half years later, present '...community services provided to Khayelitsha residents are minimal...' Currently, there are two brick Primary Schools with fenced playing fields, a temporary Preventative Health Clinic running on weekdays only, and administered by the Cape Divisional Council and a small shop selling various basic household commodities - tinned food, tea, candles and the like.

A SHAWCO Mobile Clinic, a mobile shop and a Kupugani van which distributes nourishing health foods (stews and soups) also visit the site periodically.¹² The same source continues: 'Official estimates put the current population at 200,000, increasing ultimately to 400,000. (Unofficial and unsupported estimates suggest that the population is already about 500,000 and will rise to over a million early next century, thus making Khayelitsha one of the largest single developments in South Africa (Theron: in Desmond 1988:88)).

Khayelitsha has received a considerable amount of publicity in the media, most of it negative.

Despite the construction of special buildings (civic buildings) and a number of 'modern' houses, the greater part of Khayelitsha remains what it is - another example of a futile attempt to make racial segregation 'work'. When I was invited to attend a 'small' *in'fombe* in Khayelitsha, I fully expected to see the worst aspects of the area, which had received considerable publicity in the media. I also assumed that the seance would in all probability, be held in an extremely confined space - e.g. the room of a small shack or a pondokkie. Furthermore, since I had to convey other diviners and myself to the event, I fully expected to have some difficulties driving over the wet and muddy terrain. The reality came as a shock - and in bizarre contrast to my anticipations!

Instead of slithering about on muddy tracks, I found myself driving on a brick-paved road flanked by houses with lush green lawns and grouped into closes, having 'quaint' names such as 'Cherry Close'. I eventually found out that this area is a recently developed 'new' area in Khayelitsha, located on its south-western side. It boasts new 'modern' 3-bedroomed homes, each priced at R73,000 with all modern conveniences, spacious lounge and dining area, and French doors opening onto an elegant patio.

While this aspect of Khayelitsha is relatively unknown to most outsiders, its contrasting aspects merely enhance the very negative aspects of other parts of the large townships wherein many people continue to live in extremely indigent

circumstances and with little hope of owning more comfortable accommodation.

My "fieldwork" experiences in the Black townships of Cape Town have made me realise that research in such localities is a formidable task. I believe this is mainly because one has to work among people who have suffered - and continue to suffer - considerable cultural disruption and socio-economic deprivation.

In South Africa, the movement of Africans into urban areas has been in progress for a very long time. The 'official policy has [always] been...that Africans in towns are migrants i.e. they are temporary sojourners rather than permanent residents'¹³ (Dubb, 1974: 441).

Although conditions today are perhaps better than they were, say 10 years ago, and certain influx restrictions have been relaxed, they still leave much to be desired. One of the worst aspects of urban townships is the continued housing backlog: homes and other types of dwellings (barracks in 'Zones' for single men, and flatlets) are still overcrowded and the physical environment is harsh and depressing. It is true that Guguletu has some large housing schemes (economic and subeconomic) but they are drab and monotonous. There are still inadequate sanitation and water facilities and electrification (including street-lighting). The situation is worse in Langa, where the streets are mainly unpaved, kerbs virtually non-existent, as is street-lighting.¹⁴

Most of the sanitary and water facilities are available on a 'block' basis. In such an environment of insecurity, poverty and growing squalor in which crime can only flourish, one cannot help but ponder the question - why do Africans continue to come and live in such urban areas? The unpleasant - indeed, grim - reality of these localities is hardly attractive and conducive to settlement. As Allie A Dubb sums it up: They come there '...to earn money' (1974:444).

Despite the continuous influx of Africans into the townships of Langa, Guguletu and other urban areas, the traditionally recognized Xhosa categories of 'Red people' (*abantu ababomvu*) and 'school people' *abantu basesikolweni*¹⁵ have continued to exist over a long period of time, in both the rural areas and the urban areas where Xhosa-speakers have settled.¹⁶ Today, however, the basic social division in Langa and Guguletu is that between townsmen and migrants, a division which.... cuts across the [traditional] pagan Christian cleavage! (Dubb: 1974:462). This was already apparent in the early 1960's, when the Wilson/Mafeje survey of Langa revealed that the migrant-townsmen cleavage 'to a large extent overrides'.... the traditional religion-based social division described earlier on. According to these two authors: 'The categories emerging from a combination of the migrant townsmen cleavage, class and age may be summarized thus:¹⁷ (1) the migrant labourers, (2) the semi-urbanized, and (3) the urbanized.¹⁸

These two authors point out that 'criteria of distinction between these categories is no such readily measurable thing as the number of years a man has worked in town, or the

proportion of his life spent in town, the frequency of home visits, or even his individual landrights or the lack of land in the country: rather it is a matter of attitude and values (underlinings mine). These are reflected in spreading patterns. Thus, e.g. 'The migrant does not accept town values, even though he has worked in town for many years, he still regards the country as his home. The semi-urbanized man behaves very much like a townsman while he is in town, and seeks to move out of the barracks or zones into the flats or a room in a private house. His wife may or may not join him, but he still thinks of country life as better for an older, settled man'. The two authors continue: 'The urbanized man accepts town values - the values of an industrial society - and regards the town as his home. He looks to the whites.' Although he may have been in town only for three or four years, he is already certain that he will 'never' go back to the country to build a hut, and his visits to the country are only holidays. His wife and children live with him in town, and even though a child may be sent to a grandmother in the country for a time it will "come home" in town. The townsman seeks to achieve a European standard in fancy dress and furnishing and spends his money on these things' (1963:16).

Although the Wilson/Mafeje survey identifies the various classes or social categories in Langa some 27 years ago, and the subdivisions within them, and provides detailed discussions of each, based on criteria of 'age and status', 'territorial separation', 'language and tribe' (all of which include a number of case studies to support their research findings), the authors point out that they were unable to determine precisely '...the proportion of the Langa

population in which each category is...' However, they conclude that the proportion of semi-urbanized people in greater Cape Town is considerably higher than in Langa, and the migrants lower: '...probably a third urbanized, a third semi-urbanized, and a third migrant is a reasonable estimate. The need for statistical verification of this is obvious' (1963:16).

The picture which clearly emerges from the Wilson/Mafeje survey is one in which the various social categories '...are not rigid, but merge into one another, and members of the same family are sometimes differently classified.' Because of this, any attempt to place ones' fieldwork assistants' information into existing class structures is a daunting - if not impossible - one. Furthermore, given the facts that neither the pagan-Christian, nor migrant-townsmen cleavages are stable, and that '...there is all the time movement from pagan to Christian and from country-rootedness to town-rootedness', which indicates that '...in town there is always an intermediate group of would-be townsmen and these are frequently though not invariably, either Christians or becoming Christians' - then the identification of people in terms of class structures becomes even more problematic.

The entire range of people among whom I worked are of Nguni cultural origin, and predominantly Xhosa-speaking.¹⁹ They are the descendants, relatives and representatives of many Black South Africans who have settled permanently in the townships, have established families there, and are part of, and are contributing to, an 'ever-growing town-born population'.

Some of the diviners who assisted and collaborated with me in my research, are of Swazi cultural origin: Gogo Morwadi, Gogo Magwasa and Gogo Dublamanzi. The two first-mentioned diviners played crucial roles in my research.

The other Xhosa-speaking diviners who gave invaluable assistance and advice are: Gogo Mtsila, Gogo Nomayeza, Gogo Phakamisa, Gogo Sukhwini, Gogo Mkhawulela, Gogo Finisa, Gogo Pheko, Gogo Mashiya and Gogo Mokwena.

I am also deeply indebted to herbalist (Xhosa=*ixhwele*; Zulu=*inyanga*) Baba Mancu, whose assistance was basic and essential to my understanding of some effective medicines and remedies made and used by diviners.

When I commenced fieldwork in 1989, I fully expected to learn that the people who consulted diviners, and who gathered at seances, came from the same social background i.e. migrants and semi-urbanized persons [categories 1 and 2 identified by Wilson and Mafeje (cf.p.95 in this study)]. In colloquial terms, *amagoduka* and *abantu basekhaya* - people with strong rural ties, and an active belief in their traditional religious system. Seances (*iintlombe zamagqirha/zezangoma*) are, like rituals the world over, 'rites of intensification',²⁰ their main interest being the reaffirmation of a society's or group's commitment to a particular set of cultural values and beliefs.

Since the focus of this research is the Nguni (Xhosa, Zulu and Swazi) system of beliefs, and the 'working out of this system' in a specific category of action, some

reference to the traditional Nguni world-view is both appropriate and necessary.²¹

Since the traditional religious system has many functions, its continued influence among Africans living in, and growing up in the urban environment, is not surprising. 'It provides emotional support in times of distress, it contributes to the coherence of social groups, it sanctions and supports moral codes, and it provides an authoritative explanatory theory for the ultimate questions that man asks himself. Its contributions are thus both social and personal.'²² (underlinings mine) Hammond-Tooke (1974:318).

The same author continues: 'But the traditional systems differ markedly from the so-called 'World Religions'. They are all firmly rooted in the social structure, and membership of cult groups is determined by birth (they are thus by their very nature non-proselytizing), the objects of worship are structurally determined, and they are quite unashamedly this-worldly in orientation. Unlike Christianity '.... which accepts suffering as inevitable, indeed necessary, merely promising grace to face it, all Bantu religions are concerned with attaining the good life here on earth, and their rituals tend to be essentially pragmatic. A dualism is recognized, as in Christianity, between good and evil, but the war waged between them, with its resulting rewards and penalties, is essential here and now, and not in an apocalyptic future existence. The witch and sorcerer, the very embodiment of evil, is a constant threat to the well-being of man and beast, and the whole complex of witch beliefs, with its related institution of divination, must

thus be seen as an integral part of the religious system' (ibid).

The most striking aspects of traditional Southern Bantu religions, of which the Nguni belief system is an example, are: '...concepts about the nature of the supernatural, life after death, ...causes of misfortune and the efficacy of magic', ... and '...the working out of these beliefs is in a ritual, in which diviners play a crucial role' (ibid).

As Wilson and Mafeje have pointed out: 'Nowhere are men's deep-seated attitudes to their universe more clearly revealed than in their reaction to misfortune' (1963:110). African traditional beliefs thus stress the 'personal causation of misfortune' as a central aspect of their religious system (a world view). That is to say, serious and prolonged illness, and untimely death are always caused by antisocial agents (e.g. witches, sorcerers) and such agents were formerly identified ('smelt out') by diviners, who in turn seek the aid of the ancestors, whose powers are considerable and believed to be highly efficacious.²³

It is through sacrifice and ritual that people are put into a special and close relationship with the ancestors (refer to Preface p.5 for explanation of my use of this term), who assist their living descendants in responding strategically to misfortune. After some four months of research, my findings disclosed that diviner's clients and participants at seances (excluding diviners and their entourage) include not only migrants but townsmen as well. The latter include people who are members of the denominational churches, and who attend church regularly. One such person was a Roman

Catholic clergyman who had been plagued by personal misfortune (not disclosed to me) for a long time, and who eventually consulted a diviner; after having consulted a number of doctors about a prolonged complaint from which he suffered.

As a result of my findings, my thinking about Southern Bantu traditional beliefs and about seances and the roles of diviners as religious functionaries or 'priests' within them, has been deepened, stimulated - and radically changed. What is more, according to my experiences, diviners are not usually consulted in secret, as was the case in Langa in 1963, and accordingly reported by Wilson and Mafeje.

Although a number of people with whom I spoke were non-committal, reticent and even cautious about their attitude towards diviners and divination, by far the greater number of informants - both within and outside the actual seance situation - spoke openly about their views concerning the efficacy or non-efficacy of seances and about their clientship. In Langa and Guguletu people who are still 'rooted' in the country today, as well as those fully committed to town life, consult diviners.²⁴

What they all share is not so much a common social background, or common social class, but rather a firm and enduring belief in the efficacy of traditional rituals. At all the seances I attended (as well as other non-seance rituals) the audience was socially and ethnically diverse, comprising Xhosa-, Zulu-, Siswati- and Sesotho-speaking peoples, as well as persons of mixed descent (of so-called 'Coloured' and African parentage) who spoke Xhosa, and some

Afrikaans and English as well. While many of these people live in indigent circumstances, a proportionate number are much better off, and have employment which secures for them a regular - if not very substantial - income.

Thus my initial attempts to identify non-ranking seance participants, in terms of social categories was futile, and, in retrospect, not properly relevant to this study.²⁵ In time, however, people voluntarily gave information about themselves, their social situation and neighbourhood associations. A few of them also referred to tribal associations - e.g. they attended events which also attracted people from the same home areas in the Transkei, Ciskei, and Swaziland. But the overwhelming impression I received was that, while such affiliations are a reality, they are not very important.

I was constantly being told that, although many people have family and relations in both the rural areas and in the townships, they are each of them, "their own people". That is to say, they are individuals, and they have to 'look after themselves' and 'stand on their own feet' as individuals.

This particular aspect of 'urbanized' Africans has been discussed at length by A A Dubb, who writes, with reference to categories of urban, and urbanizing Africans:²⁶ 'In town....migrants come as individuals, and in general, have to fend for themselves as individuals. Kinship, neighbourhood, and, frequently, even common tribal affiliations have receded in importance as new systems of

norms for defining and regulating relations have developed to meet the needs of urban life' (1974:447).

One may therefore summarize those people who gathered at the seances pertinent to my research, as people:

1. who have strong ties with relatives in the rural areas of Transkei, Ciskei and Swaziland; and those
2. who are nevertheless fully committed to living and being 'town people' and consider themselves as such.

(1) and (2) do not constitute separate categories, because the two tend to overlap, thus the cleavage is unstable. They include people whose parents came to the Western Cape a generation or two ago. Although their parents were uneducated, they themselves are educated (or are in the process of receiving education). But in all cases, their behaviour patterns have been shaped and formed in an urban milieu. Although they are living and working in town, they do not live entirely according to Western cultural patterns. Some of them live in Western-style homes²⁷, with (or without) electricity and running water laid on. Standards of dress and food vary according to economic situation and income. But, as far as their religious beliefs, health and wellbeing are concerned, they all resort to traditional courses of action when 'things go wrong'.

All the diviners with whom I worked - and Gogo Morwadi in particular, are 'rooted in the country'. Gogo Morwadi returns regularly to her home-country, Swaziland, even though she has a house in Guguletu and a second house in Pretoria. She insists that trainee diviners

(novices/neophytes) should also 'go home' i.e. to the country, for their apprenticeship or at least several times during the apprenticeship period.

As the following case studies demonstrate, the residents of Langa, Guguletu, Khayelitsha, and even Cape Town itself, who consult diviners, and also attend seances, are people who have individual tastes and personal commitments. They are urbanizing/urbanized Africans (including church-goers and professional people) whose belief in God (of Christianity) is combined with a strong and lively belief in the ancestors. 'The two are not felt to be "incompatible" because the ancestors are a source of good'.

Their attendance of, and even participation in, seances does not fulfil an educational or economic function; it fulfils a cultural one, and is an indication of their firm belief in the need to reinforce and maintain certain aspects of ritual from(of) their traditional social system.²⁰

Note:

- 1 As Wilson and Mafeje have pointed out in their sociological survey of Langa: 'In South Africa, two distinct things are confused: slum clearance and the compulsory segregation of people of different colours. Ndabeni, Langa and Nyanga were all begun because people were living in squalor, and the medical authorities were pressing for slum clearance, but they were also planned as segregated areas, to which Africans would be confined' (1963:5).
- 2 At this early stage Ndabeni was outside the city boundary.
- 3 This accommodation comprised living quarters for single males and a few for married couples.
- 4 See Wilson & Mafeje 1963:4-5. In particular, see (i) Table 3 on page 4 of this publication, which gives population statistics of Langa (monthly average per annum) during the period 1930-1961; and (ii) Table 4, which gives figures for the African population in greater Cape Town in the period 1911-1960. These figures represent available statistics for the period cited. As the authors state: 'It is in the interests of many Africans to evade enumeration since they are living illegally in the urban areas, and the actual population probably exceeds the official figure'. I was unable to obtain figures for the current population density of Langa.
- 5 Wilson and Mafeje further explain this system of 'exclusion': 'A man is "endorsed out" if he is without employment, and has not lived in Cape Town for at least fifteen years, or been with one employer for at least ten years; a woman if she is neither employed nor the wife of a man "exempted" because of the length of his employment in town' (1963:2).
- 6 Makosana SV. Aspects of the historical development of Guguletu, 1958-1987 with special reference to housing and Education. BA Honours, UCT, 1988.
- 7 Report in The Argus newspaper (12.9.61) and cited by Makosana on p.25.

- A constant problem in all the segregated townships established for Blacks and 'Coloureds' was, and continues to be, the lack of adequate housing facilities.
- 7 In that year, police opened fire on a huge crowd of people who participated in a protest march, killing at least one person and wounding many others. In retaliation, the crowd set a car alight, after killing the driver and burning down several buildings.
- 10 Ellis, George. Khayelitsha: "The present situation. South African Institute of Race Relations, Cape Western Region, January 1984:1).
- 11 For example, Crossroads has been described as one of South Africa's 'grimmiest townships'. (Sunday Times Extra: 29.4.1990:2). It began as a squaled shantytown in the early 1970's when waves of predominantly Xhosa migrant workers from Ciskei and Transkei entered the Cape Peninsula and commenced a 'wretched existence in tents and shacks...' on Crossroads' inhospitable grey sands. In a short period of time it became a 'squaled and near-lawless Peninsula township outside Cape Town.' The newspaper article continues: 'The tragedy of Crossroads is an extreme example of the dismal financial affairs troubling most of South African Black local authorities. Over the past 4 years, Crossroads residents have been voluntarily paying R4.00 a month into a housing fund administered by the township's Mayor and his Council (i.e. Township Committee). According to the information in the aforementioned newspaper, the situation in Crossroads is critical as it has always been from the very inception of the township itself. The newspaper reports on the fraudulent practices of the township's black local authorities and warns that 'bad bookkeeping and outright complicity threatens to turn old Crossroads into a bloodbath'. This month at least 10 people have been killed in feuds between Council supporters, '...and those residents who are opposed to the Council'. There have been several attempts to remove the 'Mayor' of the township from his post - including a grenade attack and assassination threats. Like old Crossroads, the Black townships in and about Cape Town are administered by Black town councils. The disclosure that '...of 256 provincial Black town

councils only 5 had their finances in an auditable state in the 1989 fiscal year - in the Auditor General's report tabled in Parliament earlier this year (1990), is yet another indictment against the futility of such schemes for territorially and racially allocated areas for Blacks and their eventual administration by 'own' Provincial town councils'.

- 12 See Ellis 1984:9.
- 13 See Chapter 15. 'The impact of the City' in The Bantu-speaking Peoples of Southern Africa, (WD Hammond-Tooke, ed), Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd; 1974: 441-468.
- 14 During the earlier part of my research I frequently found myself totally lost in Langa, unable to get my bearings direction-wise in the almost stifling darkness of unlit streets. I subsequently found it practical - and convenient - to take one or more people with me when travelling about the townships and attending *iintlombe*.
- 15 This 'pagan-Christian cleavage'...'represents one of the earliest effects of European influence on African life in the Republic. Developing in the rural areas with the establishment of missions and schools, it involves every aspect of culture: values and attitudes, observance of custom, religion, Western education and way of life, dress, sex and marriage, interests and activities, etiquette and manners. Structurally, despite cross-cutting ties of kinship, the two categories generally live in separate neighbourhoods, keeping their children apart, and spend most of their working and leisure hours with people of their own. That this cleavage continues to exist is evident from the data on Cape Town and East London and may be confirmed by casual observation in other townships. Certainly in East London, Durban and Johannesburg, traditionalists in tribal dress are not an uncommon sight'. (Dubb, 1974:462).

According to my own observations and experiences, the meaning of traditional dress - very common in Langa and Guguletu - does not necessarily denote the wearer as a 'traditionalist'. Many Africans, men, women and children - including members of the educated middle class, don traditional dress on occasion for reasons other than adherence to

custom e.g. for events which focus on, and/or celebrate aspirations of African nationalism.

- ¹⁴ According to Hansen, 'Red' and 'School' descriptions are more prevalent in the rural areas; 'School' people are commonly referred to by themselves, and by others of their own category, as 'converts' (*amagqoboka*). In Langa and Guguletu, the pagan-Christian cleavage is commonly expressed in Xhosa as:

- (i) *amagaba* - i.e. lit. "those who smear themselves with 'clay or ochre', or *amagoduka*, lit. 'those who go home';
- (ii) *amagqoboka* - meaning 'converts' but, as Wilson and Mafeje point out, '...is used more widely for 'school people' (1963; 16-17).

In Hansen's ethnomusicological survey of Xhosa music, she states that *amagaba* was a 'despising word' and therefore not commonly used among the Xhosa peoples, unless the descriptions intended to censure and criticise (e.g. by 'school people' when speaking about specific people and customs) (Hansen 1981:XXVI).

- ¹⁷ i.e. 'home people' ('migrants') (*abantu basekhaya*) as opposed to 'towns people' (*abantu basedolophini*).
1. The migrant labourers, some whom have never been to school at all, and others who have had up to 8 years in school.
 2. The semi-urbanized, with some education, who aspire to become townsmen.
 3. The urbanized whose homes are in town (*ibid*).

- ¹⁸ This third category or social stratum comprises two sections of people:

Townee or *tsotsi* type, further subdivided on the basis of age into *ikhaba* and *ooMac*.

'Decent people' some of whom form an educational middle class... and others the respectable lower class' (*ibid*). *Ikhaba* derives from the Xhosa noun meaning 'a half-grown mealie stalk'. This age-set comprises boys and young men aged from 15-25. They are regarded as *tsotsis* or location boys (other colloquial descriptions are also reported by Wilson and Mafeje. The term *tsotsi* derives from the name of a gang that once terrorized Alexandra township in Johannesburg (see Wilson

Mafeje, 1963:22). They like to don bright, flashy [modern] clothes [the description in common use today is 'sharp']. They are '...still a byword' among the people in Langa and Guguletu, while '...."decent people" and "migrants"...will have nothing to do with them' (ibid).

Regarding the description ooMac: this is also an age-set incorporating persons aged 25-35. It derives from Scottish Mac. In 1963 in Langa it was 'a popular nickname among young men in town' (1963:24). I never heard the descriptions ikhaba and ooMac (denoting two main divisions based on age among half-educated Africans) used by anyone during my fieldwork, although many of my informants were of the relative ages concerned. Possibly the terminologies have fallen into disuse. The description 'tsotsis' or 'decent people' are however, in common use, and would seem to correspond with identified categories of people by Wilson and Mafeje.

- 19 East London and Cape Town are considered '...the two most thoroughly researched cities.' They are both 'tribally homogeneous in that most (but not all) Africans are predominantly Xhosa-speakers. Thus Xhosa is the prominent language, and it is likely that one can expect '...tribal associations in these areas' to be a function of relatively small language and cultural groups - whose languages are mutually intelligible. By comparison, in the townships of Johannesburg - which has the largest and most heterogeneous (i.e. ethnically differentiated) African population, investigations of class structures (i.e. social stratification) are likely to be more problematic, because it would be necessary to consider tribal affiliations (i.e. how individuals speaking different languages identify themselves, and in relation to their categorisation of other people, who speak the same, and different Bantu languages. This kind of investigation focusing on tribal associations as '...a significant criterion of stratification in Central and West Africa, has hardly been investigated in the Republic of South Africa (Dubb 1974:465).

What Dubb is saying is that tribal associations are of 'limited relevance' in urban areas with a homogeneous African population (e.g. Cape Town), but they would be

more significant in urban areas with a heterogeneous population).

- 20 The definition and description of 'rite of intensification' comes from an article on foot-washing ritual in a Black community in the States - in an Ethno Journal. Writing in this context, the authors state 'a rite of intensification' reaffirms the rural Black's commitment to the long-established linkage with which the family community and church are involved'. (Joy Driskell Baklonoff 1987:381).
- 21 The Nguni (like other Bantu-speaking peoples in Southern Africa) and their traditional belief systems are not only concerned with the prosaic business of investing a living..... They, too, ask the "big question": 'how and by whom the world was created, what is man's place in the universe, what happens after death and, perhaps most important of all, what are the causes of evil and misfortune and how to cope with the exigencies of life?' (Hammond-Tooke 1974: 328).
- 22 WD Hammond-Tooke is the internationally recognised expert on the Southern Nguni and their cultural system. He is the author (and editor) of a considerable number of major publications on the Xhosa-speaking peoples of South Africa.
- 23 Nowadays, because allegations of witchcraft constitute a criminal offence and are thus illegal, diviners tend to point to a direction from which misfortune comes (cf also Wilson Mafeje: 111). Nevertheless, the current 'unrest' situation in South Africa is characterised by a considerable number of brutal murders in many parts of the country, incidents which indicate that personal causation of misfortune is still highly accepted, even though the alleged murders may be linked to political motives.
- 24 I met only two people who told me that they did not believe in the efficacy of diviners and their seance rituals. In view of the fact that one informed me of this at a seance, I find her position - like her remark - rather ambiguous!! The other, the son of a Roman Catholic clergyman whom I met while on a house call with a diviner, expressed his disbelief in the efficacy of the diviner, and her ability to cure his father. He

was, however, rather unsteady on his feet at the time (see p.151-152).

- 25 Members of the community and not part of, or related to, the seance devotees. My first, rather awkward enquiries about the social backgrounds of individuals, were met with blank, and even hostile looks. I soon realized that this type of interrogation was more likely to rouse suspicion and promote distrust, rather than interest and confidence, among the people.
- 26 Dubb defines 'urbanization' as '...a sociological concept' ...which - 'refers to changes in behaviour' of migrants when they come to live in urban areas (see 1974;448).
- 27 My diviner informants live in relatively well-to-do homes, compared with the homes of many of their immediate neighbours. See case studies for details.
- 28 Many traditional customs do go on in the townships e.g. the rite of circumcision (*ukwaluka*) and the commemoration service of *ukubuyisa ekhaya* ('bringing home' a deceased relative to her family hearth a year after her death for which sacrifices are made to the ancestors). People of all social categories may attend these, and my own findings indicate that the same may be said of *iintlombe*.

CHAPTER 2

ASPECTS OF DIVINATION AND THE INTERPRETATION, TREATMENT AND
PREVENTION OF MISFORTUNE,
IN THE BLACK TOWNSHIPS OF CAPE TOWN

As there is a considerable amount of documentation on Southern Bantu diviners and their functions, and various techniques employed by them, a detailed summary of these is beyond the scope of the present work. Although I expected diviners in the black townships to be secretive about their work, and reluctant to talk about it, I was very fortunate to obtain their explanations about certain aspects of their ritual procedures, which are usually not readily yielded to outsiders like myself.¹ For the present, I will give a description of general principles of divining and curing, including explanations and information from my teachers, and which, to my knowledge, have not been reported in published literature.

As true 'servants of the ancestors'² and 'resolvers of doubts' it is the function of diviners to reveal the origins and causes of misfortune - sickness, evil, death - which befall humans, and to interpret the meanings of dreams, visions (=day-dreams) and omens through which the ancestors often reveal themselves and their wishes (see Preface p.64-65). This is done by divining through direct contact with the ancestors; diviners also prescribe measures which have to be taken for protection against misfortune, and remedies for the harm that has already been done. Thus the

description of diviners as *abantubamadlozi* (lit. 'the people of the ancestors'), given to me by Gogo Morwadi, a Swazi diviner, is singularly appropriate, because they '...operate wholly through the shades...and...are proud of their close association with them' (Berglund 1989:308).

All misfortune is ...'inevitably interpreted in human terms. A failure in health is typically caused by the same failure in social relations, either with the ancestors, or with one's own kind or neighbours' (Hammond-Tooke (ed) 1974:359).

Among the Nguni and the Southern Bantu generally, there are two main sources of misfortune:

1. that which is sent by the ancestors, whose anger is aroused by their living descendants neglect of religious and kinship duties, all of which are obligatory for 'showing respect' (*-hlonipha*) to the ancestors.³
2. that which is brought about by witches and sorcerers, who act maliciously against other persons.

Type 1 - ancestrally sent misfortune, is bad, but it is not evil and is usually curable. The victim brings trouble upon himself, and the misfortune sent him by the ancestors is a warning that he should make restitution.

Type 2 - is evil, loathsome and destructive, and it can kill. Such a misfortune is not the victim's fault, because '...he is the target of malevolence from outside himself' (ibid). This kind of misfortune is sent by certain persons who:

- (a) are able to use their innate supernatural and magical powers, and
- (b) use medicines and charms, and cast spells, to the detriment of others.

These evil-doers are classified under the Nguni term *abathakathi* (sing -um) i.e. witches, who practice *ubuthakathi* (witchcraft).⁴

Ubuthakathi implies two categories of evildoers and 'fields of evil':

- (i) those who possess psychic powers to do evil, without the use of spells and medicines.
 "These people are witches - *abathakathi*, or *amagqwirha*⁵ in *isiXhosa*. They can fly, they can change their bodies, and go where they like! They also work with 'dirty things'⁶ [familiaris], of which there are different kinds. They have great power (*amandla*) and they control the weather, send hail and lightning to people, and kill them". (Conversation with Gogo Morwadi).
- (ii) Sorcerers are also called *abathakathi* but they do not possess the supernatural powers of witches (i). They are just people who know much about 'bad medicine', or they get it from a herbalist or diviner who has gone bad, and use this medicine to harm, and even kill people.

There are therefore two classes or categories of *abathakathi*,⁷ distinguishable on the basis of their specific abilities: witches, who can do incredible things, even 'transcend the physical limitations of man' (Berglund *ibid*), and sorcerers who cannot do such things, but, using different and individual methods, they have powers embedded in vegetable, animal and mineral substances towards evil ends.

The following explanation of witchcraft and sorcery was offered by Gogo Morwadi.

GM: 'We *Bantsundu* [Brown people=Africans] we have many 'dirty' things done by *abathakathi*². Sometimes they are jealous - for example, even of someone such as myself, of my curing. So they send bad things to kill me, or bring me bad luck, e.g. to close my business, so that I have no more patients'.

Q: 'What do you do if this happens?'

GM: 'Oh, they cannot manage it [succeed], because I know and I see what they are trying to do. So I burn out their 'dirty stuff' with a special *iyeza* (medicine)'³.

Q: 'What kind of 'dirty stuff' do *abathakathi* send?'

GM: 'Well, see now: a woman has sleepless nights; she hears noises, and movements in her house, in her bedroom, right next to her bed. She gets up to look but she sees nothing - there is nothing in her room. So she goes to a diviner who gives her medicine ('white stuff') to burn in her house. She does so, and the 'dirty stuff', the evil, is withdrawn. In fact, she starts sleeping so well - that she is often late for work!'.⁴

Q: 'But what was the cause of all the noises that disturbed her?'

GM: 'It was an evil spirit. These witches can kill a person, even slowly. They make him sick [nauseous] so that he cannot eat or drink, and he eventually dies. I had such a patient - a youth who was always standing stiffly, with his face upward, turned to heaven. He never sat down, nor did he sleep, eat or talk. He heard nothing that was said to him. If one tried to force him to sit, he would just stand up again. He was taken to the diviner [M herself] and I mixed a medicine (*umuthi*=Zulu) and forced him to swallow it. He was also given a sneezing powder (*igwada*) which made him sneeze a lot and so 'brought back his mind'.¹⁰

In this particular case the medicine was an emetic and a purge which caused severe vomiting and defecation (*ukuhlanza*, see later pp.147-149).

GM: 'The vomiting and bowel movements¹¹ went on for half an hour - the smell in the house was terrible - all the bad stuff [evil] was coming out of him, you see. After that he had to be washed, cleaned up and put to bed, helpless like a baby. After a few days he started taking food, but not before he had vomited up a mouthful of thick, green, bloodstained stuff [mucus] - it looked like Chappies Bubblegum. This was removed and then he was given Maggi Soup and slops (bread and milk). He eventually recovered his health. This sickness was sent by an *umthakathi*, you see, and it had to be cured by *ukuhlanza*, and *ukuphalaza*'¹².

My informants were emphatic that witches and sorcerers (the latter usually of male sex) are known and recognized in

their communities, although people will not accuse them outright of practising witchcraft and sorcery.

Q: 'Do you personally know *abathakathi*?'

GM: 'Yes, and *abathakathi* know one another and have meetings at night'.

Q: 'Is there an *umthakathi* with whom we can talk? Can I attend one of their meetings?'

GM: (Most emphatically) 'Certainly not! To do this would be to be killed. She would send evil spirits to bewitch you. She would never admit to being a witch. But we all know that she is one'.

From this account (and others I obtained from various informants), it is evident that witches and sorcerers are recognized as such, although they are not directly referred to - i.e. named - in conversations. They move about freely and participate in social activities. But public recognition of their awesome abilities does influence people's attitudes towards them.

As stated earlier on, witches are people with inherent supernatural powers, which other people cannot acquire. A witch is born with such powers. My informants were also adamant that witchcraft is not an inherited practivity, and a person can be forced to become a witch or sorcerer.

The following conversation provides evidence of these beliefs and opinions:

Q: 'Do witches train others to be like them? For example, do they have pupils living with them, whom they teach (in the same way that a novice diviner, *ithwasa* - is under the [tutelage] instruction of a chief diviner)?'

GM: 'No, you cannot teach someone to be a witch. A person just is one. But you can teach other people to deal with them (like teaching my *ithwasa* in the training period). But you do find *abathakathi* trying to stretch their powers to others, in order to turn them into *abathakathi* as well. There was a boy in the Ciskei whose mother was a chief witch. She tried to force him to do evil things, but he refused. When she died, her fellow *abathakathi* met to discuss her successor. Her son was forced to attend the meeting where he was asked to be his mother's heir - the chief wizard. But he refused very strongly, so the *abathakathi* beat him severely [this statement accompanied by finger-snapping], and took him to a secret place in the bush where they then pulled out his tongue and twisted it. After all this, he gave in to their demands. He was given a special cloak to wear at the meetings over which he 'ruled' [=presided], in his mother's place. He is today a very powerful *umthakathi* in Ciskei!'

The diviner insisted that *abathakathi* have a 'hit list' - i.e. a list of names of people who have to be 'removed' [killed], for various reasons. Other informants subsequently endorsed this claim. Apparently the 'executions' are discussed at specially convened meetings and people are removed in regular succession, and "on the

spot" [they die suddenly], usually "by having the throat cut while asleep"¹⁴. "But some killings are done slowly" - i.e. the onset of a headache, or stomach cramps, may be the start of a slow and protracted but fatal illness.

What emerged from this conversation was the conviction that the spirits of victims of witches are 'caught forever' by them. They then cast these captured spirits into the bodies of other creatures, e.g. a bird, a baboon, or the body of a dead person, all of which are known in anthropological terms as familiars. Witches operate with various types of familiars, usually classified according to a specific kind, but sometimes collectively referred to as *isiphorko* (pl. *izi*)=Xhosa; (Zulu: *isiphokwe* (pl. *izi*-), both from English 'spooks'¹⁵. There appear to be two types of *iziphorko*:

1. made from a corpse,¹⁶ and
2. living creatures trained as familiars.

Gogo Morwadi's vivid account of an incident in Guguletu illustrates not only the gruesome activities of certain *abathakathi*, but also the firm belief among urbanized Africans that such creatures do exist.

GM: 'In Guguletu there was a man whose tongue was cut by *abathakathi*. His wife was involved in this (being a witch). Then they trapped his spirit in a wardrobe in his house. This thing (*isithunzela*)¹⁷ went about for a time, then it had an accident and 'died'. The corpse was taken to the mortuary, and eventually buried with a [proper] funeral. The widow took to wearing black

clothes as a sign of mourning. For two months she went about her business, always taking care to keep the wardrobe - with *isithunzela* in it - locked. She carried the key about her all the time. One day she left the key at home, and only remembered it when half-way to work. She quickly returned home and found her daughter standing before the open wardrobe, staring at the *isithunzela* of her dead father. It was standing there, stiff and cold, staring with wide, sightless eyes. The child ran screaming out of the house, shouting that her father was in the wardrobe. The neighbours thought she was mad, but the girl begged them to go and see for themselves - and they did so - and got the shock of their lives. Everyone fled away in great fear'.

Q: 'Was the thing in the wardrobe really dead?'¹⁰

GM: 'Well, his body had been buried two months previously but now to the people he was alive again. The police were called and the wife tried to flee, but her neighbours caught her, took her into the house and beat her, to make her talk [confess]. The police stopped this and took her away. The 'dead' husband was taken to Groote Schuur. The doctors there found that he had a nail of approximately 15cm in length in the top of his head, and his tongue had been cut in the middle [split in two'.]¹¹

At this stage in the narrative, the diviner abruptly terminated it with a joking remark that the doctors possibly 'had to make a plastic tongue to get the man to talk!' She

then changed the subject . My attempts to pursue the matter were firmly resisted.²⁰

Other harmful familiars used by witches are:

- *impundulu* (a fabulous 'lighting bird');
- *ichanti* (a mythical water-snake or spirit), appears to be synonymous with Zulu *ixhazuthi* - a snake binder only to diviners (Berglund 1989:145-149);
- *mamlambo* (a river-being); and
- *thikoloshe* (a familiar borrowed from the South Sotho (Hunter 1936:275-90; Hammond-Tooke 1962:278-89, cited in Hammond-Tooke (ed) 1974:338).²¹

Some Methods for the Destruction of 'abathakathi' and for the Prevention, Treatment and Cure of Misfortunes Sent by Them

Various methods are used by diviners and herbalists and each method will differ according to the cause and nature of a particular misfortune.

It is the function of diviners to exorcise 'caught' [possessed=*banjiwe*] people through communication with the supernatural world and the ancestors.

As stated in the Preface (p.79, note 10) all Nguni diviners work through such mediumistic communication. In Guguletu, Langa, Nyanga and Khayelitsha, they do so in the context of seances (*iintlombe*), and in smaller, private rituals held at the home of the diviner (in his/her *indumba*,²² the place (*indawo*)) of the ancestors.

A detailed account of all the complicated methods used in divining causes of misfortune is not essential in this discussion. I shall confine myself to a description of the procedures employed by my informants, namely divining, and the use of the *ukuvumisa* method. A very detailed description, discussion and analysis of divining procedures and their associated music appears in Hansen (1981:563-594).²³ Hansen's accounts are based on personal research conducted over several years in the Transkei, Ciskei and Eastern Cape. Since my own research and experiences of basic divination methods concur with Hansen's reports and discussions, I shall articulate them here as a comparative for my own research findings. In the Nguni languages, diviners are known as *i-gqirha* (pl.ama-) = Xhosa; *isangoma* (pl.iza-) = Zulu and *sangoma* (pl.ta-) = Siswati.²⁴

Hansen writes of divination techniques:

'Most diviners (and all those to whom I spoke) employ the *ukuvumisa* and *ukombela* methods. *Ukuvumisa* (from v.uku-vuma, 'to agree, consent') is a statement and assent method in which the diviner (i) dances to the music and communicates with the ancestors, and (ii) stops dancing and addresses the audience from time to time, or utters prophetic passages he has learnt from the ancestors: his efforts are accompanied by the singing, clapping and drumming of the rest of the group and the audience, which is known as *ukombela/ukombelela* ('to sing, to clap and drum for', the diviner). *Ukuvumisa* is a sort of hot-and-cold technique in which the diviner gauges whether he is close to the right solution by observing the way the audience responds. If he is doing well, the audience will reply *Siyavuma* ('We agree!'); if he is on the wrong track, they will shout *asiva!*

('We do not hear') or *uyaphosa* ('you are missing and making a mistake'). The clapping and shouted agreements become more vigorous as the diviner nears the truth.'

Hansen also points out that '...The truth, that is, the correct solution to the matter in hand is usually known before the seance is held; by holding the seance, the diviner makes the truth known to the public' (Hansen 1981:571). (See also Hammond-Tooke:1974:356-7 for a description of Nguni *-vumisa* technique; also Berglund 1989:313-315).²⁵

The use of divining dice and bone-throwing has already been referred to in the Preface to this study. More detailed accounts of structure and procedures appear in Chapter 3, pp.197-204. Ethnographic records frequently mention bone-throwing which is prevalent among South and North Sotho peoples, the Tsonga and to a lesser extent, among Swazi and Zulu.

Bone-throwing is a major method of divining used by Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa. This type of divination depends on the way the bones (and other objects) fall. Systems of bone-throwing (and casting divining dice) vary from simple (involving the use of four 'dice', especially carved by a craftsman) to more complex ones, in which dice or ornamental amulets are also used with knuckle bones and other objects (see Chapter 3, pp.202-203).

Both Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa use *amathambo* ('bones') to interpret the cause of mishaps. This is almost always followed by *-vumisa*, during which the diviners talk to the

ancestors, who advise them how to treat the patient who has consulted them. Both methods are employed in rituals of a more private and personal nature, in the diviner's *indumba*, or simply in the privacy of the diviner's bedroom if the *indumba* is too small to perform such a ritual. Very often such a ritual is witnessed by one (or two) diviners, the patient, and one to five friends and relatives. Entry to an *indumba* or bedroom, must occur with bare feet i.e. one has to remove one's shoes, prior to entering this domain (*indawo*) of the ancestors. Both diviners, Morwadi and Magwasa, refer to themselves as *izangoma* and bone-throwing is not referred to in their formal titles. Nonetheless, it is a method that is crucial to their professions.

More serious illnesses require a more severe process of divining which is usually explained with the use of Siswati terminology, e.g.:

GM: 'When someone is sick, very sick, she has to be treated. It may be that a witch has sent the lady a *thikoloshe*. Anyway, the *sangoma* (Siswati) has got to -*femba*²⁶ the sick person.

Q: 'Is -*femba* a thing that you use?'

GM: 'No, it is what we do, as diviners. For instance, Gogo Magwasa will dress in her red and white *hiya*²⁷ and in the *intlombe* (seance) she will -*femba* the sick person, while everyone sings and claps [and divines understood]. -*Femba* is a way of lifting a very bad spell, with the help of the ancestors and their

amandawo (articles of clothing, ornaments worn by the diviners)²⁸.

The Siswati *ku-femba* is thus synonymous with the -Zulu and -Xhosa *uku-nuka* (lit. 'to smell out'), which was (and is) associated with the identification of witches and sorcerers.²⁹ Music is always used for *ku-femba*, which includes also the *-vumisa* method. Music 'helps the ancestors to come through' (communicate with) the diviner, and so makes for the success of a seance. I was told that there is a special repertory of songs for *ku-femba*, in which the evil actions of the witch are personalized in the texts.³⁰

In *ku-femba* rituals, the cause of evil is first interpreted, and then the treatment is prescribed by the ancestors (through *-vumisa*). After this, the diviner applies some form of medicine to the patient, or else burns it, and then orders the evil spell to *-hlehl*a (lit. 'to withdraw, retreat' Zulu, Xhosa). Siswati meaning synonymous (Rycroft 1981:39).

An important feature of such 'sniffing out' rituals is *ukuphemba* i.e. the burning of a ritual candle, or a special powder; this appears to be obligatory in seance cases of *ubuthakathi*-, and optional in less serious cases. *Ukuphemba* was done at the *kufemba* ritual held on behalf of the lady who was disturbed by noises at night, referred to earlier in this study (see pp.115-116).

Umthundo, (3.2.9.9) (Zulu) meaning: 1. urine; 2. place where urine has been voided (Doke/Vilakazi, 1972:806), is used in the context of *kufemba* rituals to denote something

dirty or unclean (like urine) which has to be withdrawn -hlehla by kufemba i.e. a person suffering from umthundo would have to undergo the ritual of kufemba whereby the dirty or unclean element is extracted from the patient (for a more detailed account of the kufemba ritual, see p.145-146).

The extensive use of varieties of vegetable, animal and mineral substances (materia) for medicinal purposes, is closely linked to methods of divination. In these contexts, it is no exaggeration to say that the use of medicines is basic to ALL methods of divining, treating and curing. Although diviners Morwadi and Magwasa obtain many of their materia from a herbalist such as Baba Mancu (see Preface p.18ff), they themselves have a vast knowledge of herbs, roots, shrubs and other matter, and periodically embark on special journeys to collect more medicine. Diviners (like herbalists) are always experimenting with varieties of materia, and have their own special concoctions and remedies which are not known to other diviners.

The Zulu and the Xhosa have two words which are used in the general description of medicines: umuthi (pl.imi-) = Zulu, and umthi (pl.imi-) Xhosa. Both terms mean 'a tree, shrub'; 'plant', 'wood', 'timber'; 'drug obtained from a plant, from which derives ubuthi (u.7), meaning 'poison, a charm to bewitch with'. Both Zulu and Xhosa words use the same noun-stem as the word for a 'tree', 'shrub'. (This is not surprising since the greatest amount of umuthi (umthi) is made from vegetable matter.) ³¹ (As described in the Preface to this work, much of my fieldwork was given to

transporting my informants to different localities in the Peninsula to collect certain materia (see Preface, p.62).³²

While the Zulu term *umuthi* was constantly used in explanations about medicinal plants and the like, my informants periodically used the Xhosa term *iyeza*, defining it with another word which indicates the specific type and function of the plant.

GM: 'Diviners use medicine, for which the Xhosa name is *iyeza*, and *amayeza*, meaning general medicines. *Iyeza* is used for naming all kinds of medicine. There is a very special kind that is very powerful - it is called *muthiamayeza*'.

Q: 'What is it like? What is it made from?'

GM: 'It is a special wooden one [medicine]'.

From this, and other explanations given to me, I concluded that (1) *muthiamayeza* is a substance made from the finely ground bark of a certain species of tree or shrub, and that (2) the generic term *iyeza* is a Xhosa one, and occurs in the names of most, if not all, Xhosa medicines.³³

My informants insisted that 'Herbs' (and other *imithi*) can cure almost anything. A distinction is made between the use of 'white' medicine (*imithi omhlophe*) by diviners and herbalists to treat and cure, and the use of 'bad medicine' (*umuthi omnyama*) (by witches and especially sorcerers) to harm and kill. My suggestion that a person's faith in the medicine being administered to him/her, together with a firm

belief in the diviner's powers (since diviners have a strong psychological hold over people) was greeted with loud guffaws and derision. There is no doubt that the conviction that 'each and every medicine has a special power' is both profound, and widespread among both rural- and urban-based Africans. All organic and material substances are believed to have supernatural powers embedded in them, and it is the diviner and the herbalist (*inyanga yemithi*=Zulu; *ixhwele*=Xhosa) who are able to use these powers for protection against, and the treatment of, all forms of evil.

The qualities of specific materia are of crucial importance, in that it is believed that they can be transposed from the animal, vegetable or mineral matter, to use on a person. Thus the selection and the application of natural medicines is not haphazard: the medicine (in its natural state) has to resemble the characteristics of the disease or complaint that is to be treated with it. That is to say, the plant or animal matter should have the same characteristics as the sick person. This 'principle of analogous symbolism' (Berglund 1989:90) is evident in Gogo Morwadi's treatment of boils for which *umuthi* is prepared from the following materia:

- a. The milk spotted puffer (the 'blaasvis' [Afr. Blow fish]). The skin and flesh are cut into strips and used to reduce swellings. The 'blaasvis'³⁴ has the same appearance as the swelling (i.e. it is blown up, swollen, bloated). The inference seems to be that fish with this appearance are healthy, so they can transfer their health to a human who has the same appearance on his body or limbs.
- b. The sea anemone (*umfayese*)³⁵ is another organism with characteristics which resemble a human complaint. Its tendency to contract in a spasmodic jerk, when touched,

resembles the muscular spasms and cramp for which it is used as a curative.

- c. Sea urchins (*incwade*)³⁴ and red bait (*omnenge*)³⁷ are also used to treat boils. Both are round and 'swollen up' in appearance, and exude a fluid, like festering boils and similar skin eruptions to which many people are prone.
- d. Jelly-fish (*isikhohlela*) is likewise used for boils, possibly the whitish mucous membrane is seen to resemble the pus exuded from boils.³⁸

It was during a visit to Gogo Mtsila (see p.60) that I learned more about the application and efficacies of certain 'medicines', some of which were so alarming in appearance that I felt that they were more likely to frighten off the patient, rather than his/her illness. For example, there was a 'necklace' of red and black locusts, kept in a small box in Gogo Mtsila's rather disorganised *indumba*. These locusts are pounded into powder and then used in combination with certain, small fluffy seedpods, '...to make people you do not want to see, stay from [from you].'

Gogo Mtsila demonstrated the ritual involved in using the 'medicine'. It is placed in the palm of the right hand which is held up to the level of the mouth. Then, after verbally identifying those whom you wish to drive off, or keep away, the 'medicine' is blown from the palm of the hand into the wind. This ritual ensures that the particular person(s) will 'stay away...' just like the seeds which are blown in all directions by the wind, and, like the locusts leap about and fly, the person on whom one uses this medicine, will do the same.' This action is virtually identical with that which involves the use of *isiphephetho* (Xhosa) (see p.164, note 39c).

The use of locusts is very significant and is yet another example of the use of medicine and symbolism. As Berglund has pointed out in connection with Zulu medical treatment and symbolism '...One principle on which symbols are based is that of association. Like things and similar behaviour...are thought to act against each other' (Berglund 1989:352). Hence the use of locusts, which as flying objects will act against that which is undesirable, and make it 'fly away'.

Both diviners and herbalists indicate suitable herbs for treatment, and usually administer the medicines themselves. However, whereas they do so in order to combat evil and restore health, sorcerers use their wide knowledge of medicines (possibly made from the same materia) to cause harm and even disaster. Thus, although diviners and herbalists and sorcerers respectively have their own special pharmacopiae, and methods of treating and curing, their intent is exactly opposite: as Gogo Morwadi put it: 'the *sangoma* and the *ixhwele* work for good, but the sorcerers work for evil'.

Among the Nguni the term *imphepho*³⁹ denotes a species of everlasting plant that is intimately associated with the ancestors. The Zulu understanding and use of this shrub (explained to Berglund by a Zulu diviner) concurs with my informant's explanations about *imphepho*, which is revered by diviners because it is 'just like the ancestors who also do not die' (see Berglund 1989:113-115 for a detailed account of *imphepho* and its ritual significance).

The use of *imphepho* is essential in divination rituals, especially those concerned with diagnosis, treating and preventing misfortune. Since it is used so much, diviners are constantly in short supply of it. I often accompanied my informants on herb-collecting trips, and soon learnt to identify *imphepho*, which I subsequently located growing on the lower slopes of Table Mountain. Diviner Morwadi makes considerable use of *imphepho*, especially in *-femba* rituals. Thus Berglund's observation that *izinyanga zamathambo* (Zulu bone doctors) '... use *imphepho* rather more frequently than do other diviners', seems justified and valid. In fact, in nearly all the rituals attended by me, use was made of *imphepho*, (for burning).

Medicine may be administered externally or internally (i.e. on the skin, or through the natural orifices of the body), or it may be worn on the body, or placed at some point in the home, to prevent evil and to bring good fortune.

A form of treatment much used by my informants is ritual cleansing or purifying of the body, which may involve the following methods: sweating, sneezing, vomiting and purging. Any one, or all of these methods, may form part of a total treatment. I have already referred to deliberately induced vomiting and purging (*uku-phalaza* and *ukuhlanza*), and will now give an account of 'steaming' or induced sweating (*isikhomiso*) and sneezing, which were used to treat an elderly lady who had suffered severe head and leg pains for some time. She had even consulted some European doctors, but they were unable to help her. A friend or relative approached Gogo Morwadi and requested her to call on the lady and I was permitted to attend the consultation.

After agreeing on a fee, it was necessary to divine the cause of the lady's suffering, and this was done by casting the bones.

On this particular occasion, a noticeable aspect of the ritual of bone-throwing was the deliberately unhurried tempo at which Gogo Morwadi went about her work. She was almost casual in her attitude, and appeared to enjoy being the centre of attention. Several neighbours were in the lady's bedroom where the ritual took place, and the diviner addressed them from time to time, all the while focussing on the bones and the reed mat onto which they are customarily scattered. Now and then she took a pinch of snuff, periodically emitting the characteristic (and rather eerie) *amadlozi* call - a long, deep moaning, rising in a slow crescendo from the depths of her chest and diaphragm. After several minutes of intermittent cleaning and scrutiny of the mat, the diviner gathered up the bones with cupped hands, and began to pound them rhythmically on the floor area before her. At the same time she started to mutter - a sign that she was *ukuthetha idlozi* ('talking to a [working] ancestor'). After approximately 20 seconds of muttering, she threw the bones onto the reed mat, and then examined their fall in silence. Having mentally assessed and interpreted their layout, she commenced to *-vumisa*. The patient seemed to be unfamiliar with this method and her neighbours had to prompt her to give the formal *Siyavuma* responses at the appropriate moments in the ritual.

Having divined by means of *amathambo* and *-vumisa* (Diviner Morwadi's usual, 'streamline' procedure), the diviner spoke, and diagnosed the origin of the head and leg pains (a family

squabble), and the prescriptive treatment that was to be applied. Further questioning by the diviner elicited the following facts (all endorsed by the patient): Her illness had commenced almost immediately after the squabble. The main disputer - a female relative - was a witch (*umthakathi*) who had "laid a trap" for the sick woman by "placing poison in her path". She had unwittingly "stepped into the trap", and "fallen into it" - hence her aches and pains.

The cause of the pains having been identified, prompt treatment was required (i.e. *isikhomiso*) to restore the woman's health. At Gogo Morwadi's request, a small paraffin burner - with a zinc hot-plate - was brought into the room. Some *imithi* was sprinkled onto the hot-plate and then burnt. The patient was told to kneel down and crouch over the burner, and her head, shoulders, torso and burner were enveloped in a thick blanket. Smoke bellowed out from beneath the blanket, and filled the room with a powerful odour which threatened to asphyxiate everyone there. After 5 minutes I began to wonder whether the patient was still alive, as I was heaving and gasping, and breathing with difficulty. Eventually, the lady was freed from the blanket, and requested to sniff a yellow powder - a type of snuff called *igwada*, and commonly used to treat all kinds of head ailments. She was advised to consult Gogo Morwadi on the following day, and thereafter we left the house. Before I returned home, the diviner insisted that I accept R5.00 from her in payment of the transport I had provided. I accepted the money only after she insisted that her ancestors wanted me to do so, as I was 'helping them'.

Like sweating and sneezing, vomiting and purging are equally effective - though more drastic - methods of purification from evil. I was introduced to this ritual cleansing after some 6 -8 weeks of active fieldwork, when Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa agreed to throw the bones on my behalf. This occurred in Morwadi's bedroom - also her *indawo* - where she keeps some of her divination materials. (The bulk of her pharmacopia is kept in her *indumba* out in the back yard). I was asked to remove my shoes before entering the *indawo*, and to *khanyisa*⁴⁰. This is a formal - and elegant - way of requesting money in order to 'open' the proceedings, and at the same time demonstrate one's good faith and intentions. I gave the diviner R4,00 which she placed under the reed mat. As usual, the bones were shaken rhythmically, and then flung onto the reed mat. Both diviners examined the fall, and proceeded to 'read' the bones - one diviner speaking in Siswati, and the other (Morwadi) translating her utterances into English. My 'fortune' was not very encouraging⁴¹. It said that a close relationship was threatened as I did not have an adequate income; that I should really be a herbalist and learn from Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa; that I was 'halfway' to becoming a *sangoma*, but I 'needed to be cleaned out', in order to 'let the light come through' (i.e. let things take their proper course); that something was 'blocking the way', hence all my problems which were constantly worrying me; that I had a great deal of potentially 'good' luck, but something was preventing it from reaching me; that I had a grandmother who was a herbalist; that I did not need to eat so much because my ancestors were always 'feeding' me.

Since I was perturbed by the predictions concerning my personal relationship, I asked Gogo Morwadi whether the situation could be altered. She replied that the bones were never conclusive about such matters, they merely indicated the way things seemed to be going. For her part, she saw two possible means of settling the relationship problem: I had to earn more money, or the lady concerned would have to rethink her desire to 'have a lot of things'. The first solution was the easier one. With these comments ringing in my ears, the two diviners began a discussion in Siswati, leaving me to my thoughts and problems. I felt unwell and depressed and I went home.

Some days later, I discussed ritual cleansing with Morwadi. Since it is a powerful method of combating misfortune, I asked whether I should undergo the ritual. The diviner agreed that I should (at that stage of fieldwork I had no knowledge of what was actually involved in the procedure). She advised me to fast and abstain on the cleansing day as I would have to swallow certain medicine that would make me vomit (-*phalaza*). I would have to wash myself with a vegetable substance called *velabahleke*⁴² (lit. 'see you smile'). This would clean me externally and 'make people happy to see [me]'.

Having made these arrangements, we entered the *indumba*, where Gogo Morwadi selected various herbs and roots and placed them all together in a glass jar. This mixture of herbs etc. was the *velabahleke*, and it consisted of 6 distinct varieties of herbs, roots and bark:

1. Roseline
2. *Hlakasela* ('road stick')⁴³

3. *Dwendweni* (visitors)⁴⁴
4. *letha* (fetch!)
5. *ghosha* (no trouble!)
6. *indobedovu* (Redman i.e. the one who works hard).

Apart from (1), which seems to have a European-derived name, I have been unable to find any references to these plants in any publications. Nor was my informant herself able to give me more information - in fact, she was unwilling to do so, so I did not pursue my questioning. I was then instructed by the diviner to 'cleanse' myself every day by adding the herbs (*velabahleke*) to the water which I was about to wash in.

My first personal experience of ritual cleansing occurred shortly before I drove Gogo Morwadi and her husband, Mike, to the lower slopes of Table Mountain where I had found *imphepho* growing in large quantities.

Prior to setting out, I was persuaded to sniff a powder from a snuff box - made from finely ground (pulverized) tree bark. It is particularly beneficial for headaches, and is generally believed to make one mentally alert. "It cleans out the brains, and it is also taken for brain tumours". No sooner had I taken the *iqwada*, when my eyes began to water, and my nostrils felt as though they were on fire. This made me sneeze continuously, made my head ache and it continued to do so, long after I had collected *imphepho* and another shrub identified by the diviner as *jikalanga*⁴⁵ (so named because the flower of the plant has a tendency to keep its face toward the sun).

On returning to Langa we called to see Gogo Magwasa, where I learned that she was to hold a seance in a fortnight's time.

Ritual cleansing was the main reason for the convening of the seance, the contaminated person being Gogo Magwasa herself. Their father-in-law died in her home a short while previously, and, death being contaminative and pollutive, it left the diviner in a state of ritual impurity. It also made her very vulnerable to the schemes of witches and sorcerers, who might be ill-disposed towards her.⁴⁶ As she put it: "I am now in the dark; my *amadlozi* have gone away."

This absence of the ancestors is seen as a situation that is life-threatening, and the only means by which the 'lost person' can be restored to a proper relationship with his/her ancestors, is by ritual washing in running water. In Gogo Magwasa's case, (see Preface p.44) (Lit. 'the washing of the beads') had to be done as soon as possible so that the stain, the 'darkness of the ritual impurity' could be lifted). (A detailed description of this ritual appears in case study no.4: pp.182ff). The importance and significance of running water and ritual washing has been well documented in anthropological scholarship. "Washing by total immersion is an essential feature of the person's acceptance of the ancestor's call to become a diviner. The novice undergoes a ceremony and ritual in which he/she has to enter a stretch of water and exit from it. This action symbolizes the "death" and the rebirth of the person as a 'person of the ancestors' i.e. a diviner. Allusions to such a ritual have been made from time to time, and in connection with ritual procedures in Swaziland in particular. In such

rituals, the location is usually a pool - an expanse of still water.

For purposes of removing ritual impurity, however, running water is essential, since it is cold living water (*amanzi aphilayo*)⁴⁷ that is required, and not still water. This ritual 'washing of the beads' takes place at dawn, and it is important that the actual washing of the victim or patient (the abandoned one) is done by a diviner.

Apart from being beyond the protection of her ancestors, Gogo Magwasa was also unable to attend to her professional duties, and was thus temporarily deprived of a regular income. In addition, her '...clients [are] becoming impatient'... because she was unable to treat them. 'I am in the dark, and I must wash in the river before I can use my *imithi* and my *amathambo*'. Being 'unclean', she was prohibited from collecting more medicines, and had to allocate the task to someone else who was less experienced in the identification and picking of the necessary materia.

Since Gogo Morwadi was on the verge of departing for the Transvaal to attend to a serious matter concerning a client, the ritual washing had to be deferred until her return. Unhappy and frustrated by the conditions of impurity imposed upon her, Gogo Magwasa arranged to consult with Morwadi - her superior, about the possibility of continuing her 'doctoring', even though subjected to certain restraints. I was permitted to witness the consultation in which the client and doctor were diviners. This consultation was to take place on the following day.

As pointed out in the Preface, the death of Gogo Magwasa's father-in-law which occurred in her house was one matter which subsequently gave me deep insight into concepts of taboos (Xhosa=*amaconini*) and ritual impurity (*umlaza*) held by the Nguni generally and into the structures and actions of cleansing rituals which are obligatory for the removal of certain conditions of *umlaza*.

The concept of taboo is distinct from the concept of impurity, although both overlap to some extent. Taboo in the literal sense is a ban or prohibition on something that is regarded by religion or custom as not to be done. *Amaconini* among the Xhosa, thus concerns the avoidance of certain actions. A breach of these could impose sanctions brought about by the ancestors. Thus a person has to avoid acting in a certain way, because such an action is supernaturally sanctioned e.g. a Xhosa woman who is menstruating must not enter the cattle byre, or be present at any religious rite.

*Umlaza*⁴⁰ is a contaminating condition. It is associated with the ancestors but it is, as my diviner informants put it, 'dirty' - a word which is better translated as ritual impurity (as it has been in major anthropological publications). The concept of *umlaza* is an important facet of Nguni/Xhosa social structure. It is a condition which is unavoidably acquired by people under certain circumstances. It is a contaminating condition and highly contagious, in that a person who comes into contact with a dirty person is also 'with *umlaza*'. (Even cattle and other livestock are contaminated, for *umlaza* is fatal to them. See Hansen for description of, and references to, public or ritual impurity

and the significance of music in the lifting of taboos among the Xhosa).

A person with *umlaza* has to be ritually cleansed and this is done with the assistance of a diviner officiating at certain rituals. Ritual cleansing is done by means of *uku-phalaza* (ritual vomiting) and *uku-hlanza* (ritual purging). Thus the 'evil' or 'dirt' of *umlaza* is not expelled normally, but through the obligatory expulsion of fluids from the body by the use of emetics and purgatives.

Being a diviner does not prevent one from being contaminated by *umlaza*. Sickness and death are impure and are causes of *umlaza* but they are unavoidable. Thus the death of Gogo Magwasa's father-in-law contaminated her with it and she immediately acquired *umlaza*.

The effect on her was devastating, not so much because it made her herself a polluting agent, but because it placed a prohibition on her activities as a diviner. Until she had been ritually cleansed by another diviner, she was taboo to all people who would be affected by her. This prohibition albeit temporary, was sufficient to threaten the diviner's financial position and in despair she sought the advice of Gogo Morwadi. She felt that it might be possible for her to work from her home and possibly in a restricted way. The diviner knew that she had to undergo ritual cleansing but this would have to be done at a later stage as diviner Morwadi would be away in Johannesburg. As she (Magwasa) put it 'I am in the dark, my *amadlozi* have run away' and she would have to be cleansed by ritual washing in a river (i.e. running water) and a ritual cleansing of her home. The

prospect of having to remain confined in her home without being able to work, was a daunting one. However, her *umlaza* condition placed her in a vulnerable position in that she was exposed to possible danger from *abathakathi* and lacked the protection of her ancestors who were temporarily absent from her. Furthermore, Gogo Magwasa's clients were becoming impatient because [she] could not treat them. 'I am in the dark and I must be washed in the river before I can touch anything' (referring to her *amathambo* medicines).

The following day I accompanied (and transported) Gogo Magwasa to Gogo Morwadi's home where we found five other elderly people already there. They appeared to be family relatives who had also come for a consultation. A brief consultation between the diviners in Morwadi's *indumba* was followed by an invitation to the other customers to remove their shoes and enter the diviner's bedroom. This injunction indicated that a *-vumisa* was to take place. Since I was not included I remained outside the bedroom but changed my sitting position so that I was up against the bedroom door and in a better position to hear the proceedings. The ritual and rhythmic shaking of *amathambo* was followed by the usual sound of their falling onto the reed mat. What followed next surprised me. I heard an interpretation of the fall of the bones by Gogo Magwasa followed by further readings by both diviners in alternation. The entire procedure took 22 minutes after which Gogo Magwasa came out, jokingly commented on my position near the door, went to the *indumba*, outside in the yard, and returned with a small packet of what looked like the vicious yellow powder - *igwada*, and re-entered the bedroom. (The appearance of one of the elderly clients a

little later on, holding a piece of toilet paper to her nose, confirmed my supposition).

Indeed, she was followed by the others, all apparently in a hurry to leave, although the old man took a moment to ask my opinion on his pipe, which he showed me. He was sternly rebuked by one of the women, who looked at me and said, disparagingly - 'You are not a mister are you' - at which they all left the house. There followed a brief discussion between the two diviners - Magwasa and Morwadi - on the former's condition which placed severe restraints on her work and consequently, her livelihood. Diviner Magwasa felt that it was permissible to carry out work (e.g. bone-throwing) if she did so at a venue other than her own home. She suggested Morwadi's home and her set of *amathambo* as a possible temporary substitute for her own house and bones. Diviner Magwasa's request to Diviner Morwadi was made on the basis of (1) the latter's status as a senior diviner with years of experience behind her, and (2) the latter's ethnic background (Swazi, as is Magwasa's). This being the case, Magwasa felt that Morwadi might be disposed to make an exception in her particular case and permit her to work from Gogo Morwadi's home. But the latter was adamant. Gogo Magwasa was 'in the dark' in an impure state and only ritual washing would remedy the situation.

The ritual washing was subsequently discussed and I was told that I would be allowed to attend it. I realised that this was a great honour since such a ritual (see Intlombe 4, *ukuhlanjwa intsimbi* p. ff) is in the nature of a private affair, attended by diviners and persons of the same clan.⁴⁹

I was a complete outsider and yet I was given permission to attend this event, with the provision that no photographs or films would be taken. A final comment on the forthcoming *intlombe* was made by Gogo Morwadi who informed me that those who would attend the ritual cleansing would include the patient and her husband, herself (Morwadi) and spouse and ... 'you because you are so inquisitive!'.
 ..

This particular occurrence involving *umlaza* was, for me, a totally unexpected one. It is one of the bonuses of fieldwork which one is seldom fortunate enough to collect. More than anything else, it revealed to me just how significant *umlaza* is, as a facet of Xhosa (and Nguni) social structure. This is to be seen in the insistence of a senior diviner (herself a lifter of *umlaza*) on the proper prescriptive ritual of cleansing and her refusal to consider any extenuating factors put forward by the *umlaza* victim, even though her condition threatened her professional activities and her very livelihood itself.

When I resumed contact with Gogo Morwadi shortly after the visit to Gogo Magwasa (see Preface, p.56), I received a warm welcome from her and her husband Mike, which was followed almost immediately by a query regarding our next 'visit...to the beach' (an allusion to the collecting trips which had become virtually a routine). Since I had many commitments to meet, not least of which was writing out my research material, I replied that our beach trips would have to be curtailed as I had a considerable amount of work ahead of me. We chatted a while in a desultory fashion after which Gogo Morwadi casually remarked that her new neophyte (*ithwasa*) was to have a small *intlombe* on the following

Saturday. It was being held to appeal to the neophyte's ancestors for their assistance and protection during the neophyte's training period. The consent of the ancestors was crucial to the success of the novices' training for her future profession. It was at this special *intlombe*, too, that the neophyte would be given her new name (professional name) by her ancestors.⁵⁰

Qualified diviners charge variable training fees. Gogo Morwadi's fee is R800 which is not expensive as fees in the large urban areas of Johannesburg where R1200 (or more) is a standard amount. The training period is from 6-8 months, which I thought was surprisingly short as most documented training periods report a period of up to 3 years or more. Gogo Morwadi's data, however, did not concur with actual practise as I subsequently found out that training periods are longer than 8 months. I am, however, unable to come to any conclusions on the training period of novice diviners in Cape Town's black townships. However, according to Gogo Morwadi, periods fluctuate in length, according to the potential of the novice. '...if she is bright she will pass quickly, say in six months or so. The brightness of the novice depends on whether...they had their spirit on their bodies from when they were born, or whether the spirit came up later in life'. If the former, then such a novice is considered 'bright' and 'catches on quick'.

My observations have led me to consider that a shortened period of training may be due to the effects of living in an urbanized environment and the influence this exerts on novices. Most of them are married women with major commitments in child-rearing and maintaining family units.

The urban situation and the realities of urban life have similarly shortened the boys' *umkhwetha* period to around 4-6 weeks. The two novice diviners whom I met, Gogo Pheko and Gogo Mashiya, work five days a week. Gogo Pheko is a live-in char lady and Gogo Mashiya has her own business of making and selling clothes. Training in the divination profession is thus limited to periods in the early morning before work (6-7 a.m.) and the evenings (6-7 p.m.) as well as larger periods on the weekends. This state of affairs may be responsible for the many poorly qualified and even incompetent diviners who are recognised as such by township residents.

Another cleansing ritual (mentioned on pp.124-126) is that known as *uku-femba*. (*ku-femba* v.t. 1. sniff; 2. divine, smell out as a diviner. Rycroft 1981:25). This is a form of exorcism during which the cause of an 'illness' (an evil agent, and therefore it's called an illness) is removed from a victim by means of a diviner's switch²¹ (*-itshoba* (Xh., *ishoba*-Zulu). An essential part of the diviner's dress, it is made from a stick, (± 30cm long) ornamentally decorated with beads and to which the tail of an animal (preferably *inkonkoni* - water buffalo) is attached.

In *-femba* rituals, the diviner uses the switch to 'dust' the patient by brushing it lightly over his/her body and this literally withdraws the evil spirit. Its presence and departure is tested (guaged) by holding the switch to the nose and so detect by smelling (*-nuka*) whether or not the evil spirit has been removed (exorcised). At this stage of the ritual it is customary for the diviner to fall down in a faint, thereby indicating that the evil spirit has left the

patient and entered the diviner. Thus the diviner, and her/his switch act as a conduit through which the evil spirit passes. After fainting, the diviner regains consciousness and possessed by the evil spirit, shuffles on her knees to the doorway of the house (or venue for the ritual) where she expels the spirit with the end of her switch, flicking it into the breeze outside her house. It is during this exorcism ritual that the special -femba song has to be sung:

: 'Nyankwabe huma - Oh, femba uyotheka'.
 : (Ancestral spirit - so out and fetch i.e. exorcise).

It was through Gogo Morwadi that I was able to witness at close quarters (too close for comfort) rituals of *ukuphalaza* (ritual vomiting by emetics) and *ukuhlanza* (ritual purging by means of laxatives and other materia which induces severe bowel movements). This occurred in early 1990 when I conveyed Gogo Morwadi to a medicine depot located on a roadside in Nyanga East (see Plate no.14, p.355-356). It was really a trailer pitched along the main road from Guguletu to Nyanga East, which contained a large array of various plant materia, some of which were on display outside the trailer. There were no identifying labels which indicated that the clients and sellers are skilled in the preparation and use of such materia. Numerous fowls wandered about the place and I was told that they were 'for lunch' and that one was already boiling in the pot.

Gogo Morwadi's request for *hlokalasela* presented no problems to the sellers at the depot. One of them simply groped among the heap of small bags containing various herbs, etc. and then came up with the right stuff. Seeing my amazement,

she commented 'I know where everything is'. Judging from the agreed upon price (R2.00 for a small piece of root, approx. 4cm in length) - the materia is very expensive.

The next call was to a house in Guguletu occupied by 3 elderly and infirm people, an elderly man with only one leg, his infirm wife, and a Catholic priest who was crippled with arthritis and had been bedridden for the past three years. Regarding the latter, I learnt that he had been receiving treatment and medication from a number of white doctors but his condition never improved - if anything, it had worsened. In pain and despair, the priest consulted Gogo Morwadi in the hope of obtaining relief - or even a cure.

In the house, Gogo Morwadi set about preparing medicine for the virtually paralysed priest. It was a concoction to induce *phalaza*, and it worked very quickly and efficiently as the patient vomited almost immediately after swallowing the mixture. The diviner then meticulously inspected the vomit, stirring it with a stick while several other concoctions boiled away in pots, placed on a new Defy stove. The diviner's prognosis was that the man did not feel much better but could still feel the sickness in his stomach (a description which succinctly described my own physical state, on witnessing the *phalaza* ritual).

She then washed the patient with another medicinal lotion, applying it as hot as possible to the patient's legs with a cloth. Thereafter, she prepared some maize meal porridge and fed it to the patient, saying that this was necessary in order to strengthen him for further treatment. (I subsequently learned that the diviner had made a diagnosis

on the preceding day in which the condition of the old man with one leg was attributed to *ubuthakathi* sent to the patient at his place of work. The 'dirty stuff' had caused partial paralysis of the legs, thus forcing him into an early retirement). On this occasion, both the old man and his wife had to undergo *-phalaza*.

The Catholic priest was, however, subjected to less strenuous but equally uncomfortable treatment. He had to sniff *igwada* - the yellow snuff which stimulates the sinuses and induces severe itching and burning in the nasal orifices and causes the eyes to burn and water excessively. This substance - *igwada* - is reputed to relieve head pains as well as clean the sinuses and nasal passages.

A final cleaning that day was the ritual cleansing of the house by Morwadi and Mike - by means of a herbal potion mixed in a bucket and applied to the walls and floors with a tree branch (in this instance a substitute for the obligatory *itshoba* which the diviner did not have with her on that day). Having undergone the treatment with *igwada*, it remained to wait for some sign of the Catholic priest's progress. This became apparent some days later when it was found that his condition had not improved. It turned out that the priest had not taken Diviner Morwadi's medicine according to her instructions (three times a day). When she asked him why this was so, he replied that the 'medicine hurts inside'.

At this the diviner examined the patient's urine in a bucket located next to his bed. (I was invited to scrutinize it too - I did so reluctantly from a safe distance). The urine

was yellow-green in colour, with red flecks which Diviner Morwadi diagnosed as poison expelled by her medication. A conversation between diviner and patient revealed that the latter had not eaten properly. Indeed, he had eaten meat, which the diviner had strictly advised against. It seems that maize meal and other bland food was prescriptive and not meat. In rebuking the patient, Morwadi explained: 'His stomach is weak, even at the hospital you must eat; if you don't, they put pipes (tubes) into you. You must eat otherwise you get weak'. Thus food was essential, but of the right sort. Having so said, Morwadi issued a warning to all the elderly tenants in the house not to accept food from other people because they could be enemies who would like the old man to die'. She added: 'they will poison him; there are lots of people needing a place to stay, so they [would] want him dead'.

To endorse her statement, the diviner recounted her story of the 'statue boy' (which I have given earlier on, see pg.116) probably to convince the old man of her ability to heal. The diviner's husband, Mike, then described to me the efficacy of medicines used for *ukuhlanya*, the ritual purging (expulsion of faeces). Taking a 1.5 litre Coke bottle which was partly filled with the medicine, he said: 'When you drink it, it sits inside you and is absorbed by the whole of your insides [the digestive system], and other organs. It then works on the poison until all of this is withdrawn, and then it all comes out - the medicine and the poison'. (I could not help comparing this method with methods used at Groote Schuur hospital. Tradition oriented African patients must find a considerable gap between this Coke bottle method and the methods used by white doctors).

A little while later the entire house had to be smoked with *ibaso* burnt on a tin container lid placed on the stove hot plate. The odour of this particular *ibaso* mixture was very unpleasant - it resembled the odour of burning flesh. (This is not surprising as shark liver oil is used in its preparation). (This *ibaso* did not seem to concur with the *ibaso* I was introduced to by Baba Mancu which had no odour and was burnt like a candle; see p.43). In fact, I could not take it as the smoke pervaded all the rooms and I had to leave the house until the smell had abated somewhat. Just then, to my surprise, a woman in a nurse's uniform arrived, very curious, and I followed her into the house. She was instructed by Gogo Morwadi to feed the patient and there was a brief request from the nurse to have the diviner assist her daughter with marriage problems. The rest of the dialogue was lost to me as I was again overcome by the powerful odour of the *ibaso* and had to seek fresh air outside.

The following day I accompanied Gogo Morwadi on her visit to the priest and she administered some *umuthi* which made him vomit violently. The man's insistence that the pain had moved from his chest to his lower abdomen was interpreted as a sure sign that the poison was moving down his body and thus was being relentlessly driven through him.

The next stage in the treatment was *-hlanza* and while the medicine was working, the elderly man (with one leg) commented on some improvement in his condition and that he was sleeping much better since the house had been smoked

with *ibaso* and he had undergone *-phalaza*; likewise his wife felt better, but was unwilling to *-phalaza* again.

At this comment, Gogo Morwadi interrupted with a stern rebuke that the old lady will '*shona phantsi* [i.e. sit down, i.e. be obedient] if I tell her to do so'.

During these comments, the priest had a severe bowel movement and after almost casually inspecting the faeces, Gogo Morwadi pronounced that the patient was '...very dirty inside'. (In anticipation of another invitation to examine the stools, I was able to avoid having a close look at them). So saying, the diviner fed the patient a large bowl of porridge. *Ibaso* was again burnt (I learnt later that it contained shark liver oil and herbs, among other things). Once more the horrendous odour proved too much for me and I retreated to the doorstep outside the house where I sat and pondered on the intricacies of ethnomusicological fieldwork. Inspecting faeces aroused some severe doubts in my mind....

Many weeks passed before I was able to follow up the progress of Gogo Morwadi's elderly patients. Our visit concluded with the appearance of the elderly man's son who had clearly been drinking excessively. His father expressed his great disappointment at his son's behaviour, which further increased the latter's hostile feelings to his father. He also criticized diviners generally and said bitterly in Gogo Morwadi's presence that he 'did not believe in *iggira* magical powers - 'that stuff is nonsense, only white man's medicine works'.

Although Gogo Morwadi was clearly unhappy, she said nothing but quietly went about her work. The old man was very distressed at his son's disgraceful behaviour and in an attempt to apologise for the latter, he told us that he hailed from Zimbabwe where the hospitals employed both traditional doctors and 'ordinary doctors' (i.e. professionally trained in Western methods). We left soon afterwards and Gogo Morwadi's only reference to the incident was her comment that the man was '...dumb and didn't know what he was talking about'.

My next encounter with a cleansing ritual occurred in mid May, 1990. Again the circumstances were quite unexpected.

The incident involved Morwadi's son, Jeff, whom I learnt was also a diviner by profession and is known by the professional name Gogo Mokwena. He is 32 years of age and underwent training in Swaziland in 1972, concurrently with his mother. Both mother and son were under the tutelage of the same diviner, Gogo Dubulamanzi (a name meaning literally 'she who comes across water'). Diviner Mokwena (Jeff's) call to the vocation of diviner (when he showed symptoms of *uku-thwasa*) became evident with the onset of extreme insomnia (which persisted for almost a year), severe vomiting and a resultant loss of weight. It was while chatting to Jeff and his mother in her home on May 14, that there was a discreet knock on the door. A loud call of 'Ngena' (enter!) from Gogo Morwadi was followed by the entry of a youth of approximately 18 years of age, who came hesitatingly into the room. I learnt that he had come from the Transkei, having been sent by his father to consult Gogo Morwadi concerning this matter of *impundulu*.

This creature, according to Jeff, is a very large bird which is similar to an ostrich in appearance. But this is only one of several manifestations of this wellknown witch's familiar.

An *impundulu* may also take the form of a 'man with no legs, who floats in the air like an aeroplane'. Berglund reports that it is believed that lightening 'is fire brought to earth by a bird sent by the lord-of-the-sky and is known as *inyoni yezulu*. The name *impundulu* is used by people living south of the Tugela. He further adds that according to Doke/Vilakazi it is a "bird supposed to be used by women in witchcraft" (Berglund 1989:38-39). In its ostrich form, this creature tends to harass its victims at night. [It can also seduce women in its human form].

The Transkeian youth had been suffering in this way, with the result that apart from lack of sleep, he also suffered from excruciating pains in the legs, which made walking extremely difficult. These two manifestations were attributed to *impundulu* which appeared to its victim in two shapes; as a big bird (ostrich) and as a legless man, thus causing physical disability. This interpretation occupied me for a long time thereafter. I could not resist attempting a rationalized interpretation of the youth's situation. The notion of being 'troubled' by an ostrich-type bird (and the ostrich-type bird is noted for its strange trait of hiding its head in the sand in the face of danger, thus thinking it was invisible or hidden to the enemy) could be an explanation for a subconscious psychological disturbance of which the bird and the legless

man are symbolic associations and representations. It has been my experience that Africans appear to make no clear distinction between dream manifestations in the waking conscious state and in the sleeping state. It is possible that the youth was, at the time, in a threatening situation which he refused to confront, with the result that he felt himself to be in a helpless condition i.e. stuck mentally in a certain predicament in which he was unable to take the necessary steps to free himself. This mental fixation might well be symbolically reflected in the dream image of the legless man with a resultant physical manifestation in the youth - i.e. impaired mobility and pain in the legs.

Both Gogo Morwadi and Jeff insisted that the legless man and the bird were beings that repeatedly visited the boy at night. Their method of curing this condition was a specific ritual which in its structure and action focussed on a sacrificial killing, the application of blood from the killing, and of carefully placed incisions on the victim's body.

The first step in the ritual was the sacrificial killing of a white fowl in the back yard of the house. The neck was cut and the blood allowed to flow into a plastic bottle (see Plate no.15, p.357). Various *imithi* (not identified to me) were added to the blood. The second stage involves a special washing (*uku-hlambe*) in running water. I transported the two diviners and their patient (the Transkeian youth) to Newlands forest where we parked the car and walked on until we found a running stream. The youth was told to remove his clothing and to stand in the centre of the running water. The blood solution is diluted with

the icy cold river water and then poured over the youth's head, shoulders and torso, and he was instructed to wash himself with the medicine. After this ritual cleansing, the youth was instructed to remove the mixture by washing in the icy water (see Plate no.16, p.358). (This is in contrast to the ritual washing to remove *umlaza* as performed at the *ukuhlanjwa intsimbi* (described in Chapter 3, p.188) in which the blood and *imithi* concoction had to be allowed to dry on the patient's skin).

The next stage in this ritual is the ritual of cutting (*-qinisa*). The youth is ordered to sit on a grass mat (*icansi*) in the yard, clad only in his underpants. Gogo Morwadi then made a number of incisions into the skin on various parts of the head and body using a razor blade; a process which she described as 'injecting' the patient.⁵² (See Plate no.17, p.358).

These incisions are not made randomly but follow a specific sequence and immediately after each one is made, some medicine is rubbed into the wound so that it enters the blood stream. The incision areas are as follows:

1. the top of the scalp;
2. the lower throat;
3. left and right cuts on the following: shoulders, elbows, wrists, knees, ankles (inner and outer areas) and top of feet;
4. back of neck;
5. middle back;
6. lower back;

7. left and right hips.

I noticed that two kinds of *umuthi* were inserted into the cuts:

1. a black mixture made from the burnt ashes of various substances (not named); and
2. a red paste called *vimbela* which I was told could be seen to ignite ('catch alight') when rubbed at night time. Doke/Vilakazi 1972:p.835: *isivimbela/pl.izi* - 6.6.3.8.8. 1. preventive charm or medicine; 2. fabulous water snake.

In the final stage of the ritual, all of the youth's joints were pulled - the knuckles (of fingers), the wrists, elbows, shoulders, ankles and knees.

These proceedings completed the treatment.

Note:

- 1 This was stressed by my informants - all of whom are with one exception (a herbalist) - practising diviners.
- 2 Berglund 1989:136 (Ch.V): who uses the description 'servants of the shades'.
- 3 E.g. propitiatory sacrifices at the various life-cycle rituals, and change of status (usually involving the slaughtering of a beast or a goat); the offering of a libation of beer as when a migrant worker returns home after a stint on the mines); and the re-integrating ritual for a deceased relative a year after death (the ritual of *ukubuyisa ekhaya* (Zulu.Xhosa). Also called *ukuqugula* among the Xhosa).
- 4 McLaren/Bennie 1963:56: 'a wizard, witch'. *ubuthakathi*='witchcraft'. This concurs with the Zulu meaning of the term, as it does with Siswati terminology: *umtsakatsi* (pl.ba-) 'witch' or wizard; and *butsakatsi* ('witchcraft'). (See dictionary entries in Rycroft 1981:186).
- 5 *igqwirha* (pl.ama) (n.3) is the Xhosa term for a 'wizard, a witch, a sorcerer' (MacLaren/Bennie 1963:50), who practice and are ...'guilty of unnatural crimes', generally described as *ubugqwirha*. My informants used the terms *um(aba)* - *thakathi* more frequently than the specifically Xhosa *i-(pl.ama)* - *gqwirha*. Both terms are synonymous, but imply 2 categories of evildoers. (*Igqwirha*) should not be confused with *igqirha* (p.ama-) which is the Xhosa diviner - an agent for good fortune.
- 6 'Dirty' (The English term constantly used by my informants in connection with problems of evil, illness, mishaps sent by witches and sorcerers, may be better translated as 'evil', 'impure', 'unclean', 'bad', 'black'.

- 7 Hence the analytical distinction made by anthropologists between witchcraft (practised by witches - mainly women) whose '...incarnate powers'...are geared towards harm and destruction of other humans', and sorcery (the learned activity to use spells and medicines to harm others. (See Berglund 1989:266; Hammond-Tooke (ed) 1974:337-8).
- This Nguni concept of *ubuthakathi* would seem to concur with the Pedi concept of 'night-witches' and 'day-witches', this distinction being based on the abilities and methods used by the 2 types of evildoers and not '...the time of operation' (Mqnnig 1967:75).
- 8 Note that this analytical distinction is not expressed in actual Nguni terminologies, but is implicit in the ethnic meaning and understanding of the term.
- 9 The idiom *ukwanda kwaliwa ngumthakathi* (the increase of wealth is forbidden by the wizard' = McLaren/Bennie 1963:156) is very appropriate in this context. My informant's assent that diviners are often the targets of witches and sorcerers, but the latter are seldom successful unless the diviner 'goes bad', i.e. succumbs to evil forces sent against him.
- 10 The youth worked for a 'Coloured' family in Moreesburg, who, on noticing his odd behaviour, advised his mother to consult Gogo Morwadi.
- 11 *ukuhlanza* (lit. 'to wash oneself clean' 'to cleanse [the inside of] oneself', to purify by excessive vomiting and defecation. See Berglund 1989:328 for a description of purification from evil by the expulsion of fluids (and other matter) from the body.
- 12 *ukuphalaza* (Xhosa) 'pour out, spill out, empty, throw away, make overflow, etc. (McLaren/Bennie 1963:123). In this context the Zulu meaning of the word *ukuphalaza*=ritual vomiting - is intended. See Note 11 for reference. Unlike *ukuhlanza*, *ukuphalaza* does not involve the expulsion of faeces. Vomiting is induced by administering an emetic.
- 13 My request provoked some laughter, and also a warning from Gogo Morwadi, who said: 'You won't be able to talk, you will become mad in the head, because these *abathakathi* will make certain that you remain silent. They will make your mind empty [blank], so you just

cannot talk' (meaning I would never be able to divulge the whereabouts of the meetings and the identities of the witches and their discussions). 'No-one can just go and meet them. But they can choose you; when that happens, you are caught. You may be partially bewitched, dumb, confused. Once these signs appear, you will have to go to a *sangoma* (diviner) who will 'loosen' your tongue and lift the spell of the witches. Only diviners can do this. See also Monnig 1967:71 in connection with Pedi witchcraft (*boloi*).

- 14 This account evoked uneasy laughter and nervous smiles from the people present. The 'Hit list' is a much feared reality.
- 15 This Western and European notion of a ghost is of relatively recent origin and borrowing.
- 16 To make this type of familiar, a corpse is 'resurrected' from his grave and given life by a witch.
- 17 The *zombi*, the living dead, are the most feared familiars. According to the Xhosa, *izithunzela* (pl.) hypnotize their victims so that they can manipulate them. See Hammond-Tooke (ed) 1974:338. Other Southern Bantu equivalents are Pedi:*setseete*; Lobedu:*khidudwane*. As the above author points out: 'Witch beliefs are broadly similar in all South African Bantu Societies. In all one finds the notion of the magical leaving of the body, the association of witches in covens (associations to further their operations) and the themes of nakedness, cannibalism, invisibility and the use of familiars as agents of harm' (ibid).
- 18 I found it difficult to believe in the existence of familiars and my scepticism evoked criticisms and remarks to the effect that I was 'like doubting Thomas in the Bible. I was warned that I would 'see for myself' in due course, particularly if I accompanied Gog Morwadi to Swaziland. Later on in fieldwork, Gogo Morwadi threatened to take me to a witch who operated with familiars, so that I would have to accept the existence of these creatures. 'The witch will put you in a room, at night, all by yourself, and you will see - she will send snakes, the *thikoloshe* [see note 21, p.160] and other things to you - and you will be forced to believe. To my lasting relief this threat was never realised....

- 19 Reports of similar incidents occur in various ethnographic publications: Berglund (1989:279) gives details of the Zulu *umkhovu* (pl.*imi*-) a familiar produced by '...exhuming a corpse and bringing it to life again. (The witch is also the killer of the man in the first instance). The person... is crippled by driving a sharpened stick of *umdleke* through the body... entering his head through the fontanelle, and coming out of the anus. The tongue is split in two, and the *umkhovu* has red eyes so that it can see in the dark. *Umkhovu* has the same noun-stem as *isikhova* (pl.*izi*) an owl, (hence a 'creature of the night'). *Imikhovu* are usually of male sex.

The Pedi also have such a familiar, called *tholwane* (Monnig 1967:67), but in this case the tongue is cut out to ensure the silence of the creature. It showed he noted that zombies have no will of their own, and they perform at the will of witches who make them.

- 20 No doubt because a death, possibly murder, was involved, and this is punishable by law.
- 21 Berglund reports that *thikoloshe* was traditionally not a harmful agent, but a trickster. He became harmful when 'caught by a witch', and he may 'terrorize people' [D Morwadi], and inflict severe pain, but he does not kill (Berglund 1989:280).
As reported in Hammond-Tooke (ed) 1974:338, the sexual element is very pronounced in witchcraft beliefs, and is closely associated with *thikoloshe*, a short hairy being with enormous male genitalia. He can satisfy sexual hunger and is commonly blamed for women's sexual problems (e.g. lasciviousness, frigidity, barrenness, menstrual problems).
See Wilson (1951) for a descriptive discussion of erotic elements in Mpondo beliefs which the author correlates '...with the institution of clan exogamy which effectively excludes a larger number of locally situated persons from possible sexual access' (cited in Hammond-Tooke (ed) 1974:338).
- 22 The meaning and derivation of the term *indumba* initially puzzled me as I found no mention of it in the ethnography consulted by me. My informants are emphatic that the *indumba* is the place where they keep their pharmacopeia, and ritual/ancestral articles worn

when divining and curing. The *indumba* may be the diviners bedroom, or a small, separate room or shack located in the back yard of the diviner's home. Dictionary entry in McLaren/Bennie (1963:33) gives the meanings of *indumba* (and *indumbi*) as 'a mass, heap'; entries in Doke/Vilakazi (1972) Zulu, concur. I suggest the following possible derivation of the term from those cited in the entries. *Indumba* is thus the graphic, descriptive name of the room in which the diviners keep a 'mass' or 'heap' of pharmacopeia and ritual articles.

- 23 DD Hansen: Section 19: *Iingoma zezintlombe zamagqirha* (Diviner's *Iintlombe*/Seance Music) in *The Music of the Xhosa-speaking People*. Unpublished PhD thesis (2 volumes) and cassette tape, Wits University, 1981.
- 24 Berglund notes that *inyanga* is the most common iZulu word for a diviner (1989:185) and that it is also used in the description of categories of skilled people e.g. herbalist=*inyganga yemithi* (herbalist); *inyanga yamathambo* (lit. 'diviner of bones'), *inyanga yezimithi* ('stick diviner'). The Zulu diviner who 'smells out' witches via mediumistic contact with the ancestors is called *isanuse* (pl. *iza*). My informants constantly used the title of *sangoma* and *igqirha* (Xhosa) when referring to themselves and to other diviners. Herbalists were referred to as *amaxhwele* (s=*ixhwele*)=Xhosa, and (less commonly) *inyanga* (Zulu) respectively. *isangoma* (and even *ingoma*) are terms used for Zulu diviners generally (ibid).
- 25 The Pedi appear to have borrowed this method from the Tsonga or other cultural agroups. The Pedi method of mediumistic divining, with the Pedi diviner, *Lepale* (pl. *ma-*) officiating, is virtually identical (Mnnig 1978:80ff).
- 26 *ku-femba* (Siswati) (v.t)=1. sniff; 2. divine, smell out, as a diviner (Rycroft 1981:25).
- 27 *Hiya*: (Siswati)=*lihiya* (pl. *ema-*), 1. 'men's traditional loin-cloth' (Rycroft 1981:37). 2. *Lihiya* is also the name given to distinctively patterned squares of material, which are worn by men and women alike. The *hiya* is tied in a knot on one shoulder, and draped around the torso, leaving both arms free (see photograph). Although *amahiya* have become part of

Swazi traditional dress, they are in fact, manufactured outside the country e.g. Taiwan and Java.

- 28 *amadawo* (pl.); *indawo* (sg). McLaren/Bennie 1963:28 'a place, a locale' (Zulu, Xhosa). The explanations initially given me were vague and confusing. I subsequently came to the (tentative) conclusion that *indawo* is used with cumulative prefix *ama-* to denote the articles of clothing - belts, headdress - which diviners Morwadi and Magwasa obtained for their ancestors (see Preface p.14-15). These articles are always kept in the *indumba* - the 'place' of the ancestors, and so are referred to as *amadawo* - i.e. [things] of the 'place' of the ancestors. My informants endorsed my tentative conclusions, but I do not know whether they constitute a complete and accurate explanation.
- 29 In earlier times a person who was 'smelt out' (*uku-nuka*) was usually executed. Since such punishment is illegal today, witches are not directly 'smelt out' and identified publicly, but are referred to indirectly by diviners in their interpretation of causes of evil.
- 30 One song entitled *nyankhwabe huma* is commonly sung at *kufemba* rituals. The main phrase - *femb' uyotheka* ('Sniff out [that evil thing]) refers to the witch and her spells, which are commanded to 'dry up' (*huma*) and leave the bewitched person.
 -*theka* (3.9) D/Vilakazi 1972:789. (Zulu):
 1. 'get said'.
 2. 'Be meant, intended'.
 -*femba nyotheka* ('Sniff out, its being said').
- 31 Among all Southern African Bantu, medicines are derived mainly, though not exclusively, from vegetable matter. What anthropologists Krige and Krige have stated of Lobedu medicines is true of all Southern African Bantu medicines: 'There is hardly a plant... which is not used in the pharmacopeia of some herbalist or doctor' (cited in Hammond-Tooke (ed) 1974:340).
- 32 My informants stressed the special 'power' (*amandla*) embedded in specific plants etc. and other matter-stones (minerals) earth, shells, certain parts of animals, birds and fish, and species of sea-life.

- 33 Thus *iyeza* is the Xhosa equivalent of the Zulu *umuthi*. According to Hansen, *iyeza* is in common use among the Xhosa residing in the rural areas of the Transkei, Ciskei and Eastern Cape, while *umuthi* is seldom used (Personal communication 1990 - June 15). Dictionary entries in McLaren/Bennie support this (1963:188). *iyeza* (pl.ama-) 'drug, medicine, cure, remedy; included also is a list of specific medicines, all described as *iyeza* with an additional definition indicating the nature of the medicine, and specific type vernacular name e.g. *iyeza lamehlo* ['*iyeza* of eyes']: *iyeza lehashe* ['horse *iyeza*]: the Kaffir primrose and other plants used for scrofula: *iyeza leentshulube* [*iyeza* of the red intestinal worm'], a Hibiscus used for worms: *iyeza lesidiya* [the quarter-evil *iyeza*]; the soap-bush, used for quarter-evil disease in cattle; *iyeza leramba* [the tattoo or scratch *iyeza*]=the naald-bosje (bossie) used for snake-bite; *iyeza lezikhali* ('the 'weapons' *iyeza*)=the horse shoe geranium, used for wounds and sores; [*izikhali*=weapons which 'fight' wounds]; *iyeza lokuxaxazisa* ['the purge/diarrhoea *iyeza*']=from the guarri tree, used as a purgative [*xaxaza* (v.1)='to have diarrhoea']; *iyeza elimnyama* ('Black *iyeza* i.e. the African anemone. See also Doke/Vilakazi 1972:879: (Zulu). Dictionary entry: *iyeza* (pl.ama-) (3.2.9.9):
1. Species of red sweet potato.
 2. 'Green herbs' used medicinally.
- 34 The Afrikaans name was always used.
- 35 I did not find a dictionary entry for this word.
- 36 Has the same noun-stem as Xhosa, meaning a penis sheath (*isidlo*) traditionally made from a gourd. The resemblance between this and the sea-urchin (both are round with a brittle shell) is obvious.
- 37 Possibly deriving from *ku-nenga* (v.t.) (Siswati): 'disgust', 'offend' 'nauseate'. The red bait is also burnt. I was unable to substantiate this. The residue is used in medicines.
- 38 All this endorses Berglund's comments of Zulu medical treatment and what he appropriately describes as 'antagonistic associations': the emphasis is not on the medicine but the symbol typified by the medicine. The use of medicines which look like the disease or

complaints they are meant to cure, demonstrates the strong belief that things that are alike are ...'antagonistic to each other'. They act against each other... because they are similar (1989:352).

39 Dictionary entries for *imphepho* in:

1. Rycroft (Siswati): (pl.tim-): 1. species of everlasting plant; 2. incense (1981:81).
2. McLaren/Bennie 1963:127: 1. 'a light breeze'; 'the air'; 'an everlasting flower or immortelle'.
3. Doke & Vilakaza 1972:658 (Zulu).
 - a. 'Rescue', 'relief'.
 - b. Species of small everlasting plant with a sweet smell, used for burning as an offering to the spirits' [ancestors]. e.g. *Helichrysum micorniaefidium*.
 - c. Incense. The term *isiphepheto* appears to be used by Zulu and Xhosa diviners and herbalists to refer to the fine powder made from *imphepho*-like shrubs; particularly the roots, which are very aromatic. The powder may be mixed with other substances, or used on its own. Diviners often blow the powder into the air, to ward off evil. My informants usually burnt *imphepho*, in mixed or unadulterated form. See Hammond-Tooke (ed) 1974:341 for further uses of *isiphepheto* in preventative/protective medicines.

40 Siswati: *ku-khanya*. 1. 'to shine'; 2. 'be bright', 'clear'; 3. 'be clean. The Zulu meaning concurs with the above Siswati meaning (Doke/Vilakazi 1972:381).

41 I set up a tape recorder to record the entire session, but, for some reason unknown to me, the machine malfunctioned.

42 I was unable to identify the shrub, nor did I find any mention of it in the literature I consulted.

43 Dictionary entry - *inhlakahlehla* in Doke & Vilakazi 1972:312 - species of wild cucumber. There may be a possible connection here - it is as yet impossible to say.

- 44 Entry in Doke & Vilakazi 1972:179. *ndwendwe lwengcuba* - herbalists medicine for heart trouble: prob. *Rhus Legati dwendweni* may be this plant but I cannot be conclusive about this.
- 45 Lit. '(it) turns to follow the sun'. I am unable to identify it, and its botanical name.
- 46 The ancestors are protectors and defenders of their descendants against all forms of evil, which is believed to be directed towards them by *abathakathi*. Ritual impurity distances the person from the ancestors and thus exposes him or her to the onslaughts of witchcraft and sorcery.
- 47 See also Berglund 1989:157.
- 48 *Umlaza* is a sanction and is not connected with the ancestors. It is a supernatural condition but it does not result from bad or evil behaviour.
- 49 I was told that other diviners (outside the clan) are not permitted to attend such an event.
- 50 As it turned out, the neophyte subsequently received her new name only some months later when she was officially given the title, Gogo Mashiya, during a training session. The process of naming is quite elaborate: the neophyte covers herself with her Swazi cloth - *hiya* - is possessed by her *amadlozi* (ancestors) who then convey to her her new name, which she announces publicly by calling it out during the seance.
- 51 According to D Hansen, *inkonkoni* switches may be purchased at various tourist depots in the Natal area. She herself purchased one and presented it to a Zulu diviner with whom she is researching. The diviner insisted that the switch be made from the tail of the water buffalo (Personal communication, May, 1988).
- 52 A second blade had to be especially procured from a nearby shop as the initial blade proved too blunt for its purpose.

CHAPTER 3

CASE STUDY NO.1

Outline

The first *intlombe* that I attended took place in Langa, Zone 8, on Saturday, 5 August 1989. The appointed starting time was set for 11h30. This was postponed, however, until 17h00, and then again postponed and rescheduled for 19h00. The seance was held by Gogo Magwasa in her house, which is free-standing and consists of two bedrooms, a lounge, kitchen and bathroom. As I have previously mentioned, this *intlombe* was arranged specifically at my request and was financed by me in the hopes that I might make a breakthrough in my fieldwork which, at that stage, was simply static (see Preface pp.9ff).

There was, therefore, no genuine or essential reason for holding this *intlombe* and I wondered whether it did not contravene any customary laws or regulations regarding the holding of seances. Gogo Magwasa informed me, however, that this was not the case and that it was perfectly acceptable to hold an *intlombe* purely to communicate with, and pay respect to, the ancestors.

When an *intlombe* is held, for whatever reason, it is usual and proper that a ritual killing be made to propitiate the ancestors. According to my informants, the sacrificed animal should be either a white goat or a beast (an ox), if one was available. White chickens may also be used but serve only as a substitute for the above. Although I was initially informed that a goat was to be purchased for this

intlombe, I later discovered that, in fact, a number of white chickens had been obtained for the event. The *intlombe* was late in getting started and there were virtually no signs of activity until I returned from a rather extravagant excursion into the surrounding townships to collect a few of the attending diviners, at approximately 21h00. On entering the lounge, I discovered a group of 4 people (whom I later learned were regarded as diviners of a 'lower' status in terms of professional experience). All were in the process of dancing and singing to the rhythms played on one of two available drums by a young man. There was an audience of about 6-7 people, seated on wooden benches, who provided hand clapping and added to the singing.

During the preliminary period, which lasted until 23h15, the majority of diviners gathered in what was the children's bedroom, and which now seemed to be an area specifically used as a pre-*intlombe* gathering place. Here the diviners held casual conversation, drank beer (*umqombothi*)¹ and gin, and smoked their pipes. Lager ('Lion'), *umqombothi* and gin were also provided for the adults who remained in the lounge throughout the entire event. The uninitiated "boys" (*amakhwenkwe*), one of whom was Spokes, the master drummer at the *intlombe*, had congregated in the kitchen where they were given *umqombothi* to drink. I was informed that the "boys" had to remain apart from the other adults during the eating and drinking sessions. Spokes told me that they (the "boys") would join in 'when the *amagqirha* start' (i.e. enter the proceedings proper). More and more people gradually filled the small house until moving around with video equipment became almost impossible. Finally Spokes made his

way into the now crowded lounge and commandeered one of the drums, but the diviners remained in the bedroom, seemingly unconcerned about the loud music and dancing emanating from the other room. At 23h15 I was warned that the *amaggirha* were about to enter ('come out'). The song *MasiyeMbo* (let us go to where we cannot be seen, i.e. the land of Mbo)² was forcefully introduced at this point by one of the lesser 'diviners' who had been dancing when I first arrived. He seemed to be acting under the instructions of the other diviners to 'prepare the way' for them, as it was clear that they would not enter the lounge until an appropriate atmosphere had developed.

Eventually Gogo Magwasa appeared at the entrance to the lounge and cleared the dancing area with her spear (*umkhonto=Xh*). The people were encouraged to sing louder by Gogo Magwasa and eventually the 12 diviners (and 1 herbalist) paraded slowly into the lounge, forming a circle while moving in a clockwise direction and in single file (see Video Extract, no.1). The entry of the diviners was organised according to status. It was led by Gogo Magwasa, not the highest in rank but the holder of the *intlombe*. She was followed by Gogo Nomayeza who was regarded as senior to Magwasa, and who was obviously in charge of the proceedings at this initial stage. She was followed by diviners of lower rank, whose entry into the lounge ushered in the appearance of the highest ranking diviner, Gogo Morwadi and a herbalist of some repute, Baba Manci.

When all the diviners had entered the lounge, Gogo Nomayeza proceeded to deliver a number of lengthy speeches, interrupting the music to do so. Upon her conclusion, each

diviner then took it in turns (according to status) to perform *-thokozisa*³. Each performance of *-thokozisa* alternated with sessions of group dancing (*-xhentsa*) (see Plates no.19 & 20, pp.361-362).

Throughout the proceedings the majority of the diviners remained standing in the room. At one point, however, Gogo Magwasa and Gogo Morwadi broke away from the group and went into another room in order to prepare themselves for their *-thokozisa* and *-xhentsa* sessions. Gogo Magwasa was the first to re-enter the lounge where she gave a solo performance, accompanied by singing and clapping from the other diviners and guests. At one point, Gogo Magwasa broke her succession of *-thokozisa* and *-xhentsa* by performing *-hlehl*a (see pp.209). (At this point I was ordered to stop the video recording).

As Gogo Morwadi held the highest rank among the diviners present, her solo performance of *-thokozisa* and *-xhentsa* concluded this phase of the *intlombe*.

At 02h45 food was served, first to the diviners and then to the other guests. The chickens provided adequate food for everyone. Large amounts of alcohol were also available.

Restricted areas were clearly noticeable at this stage as the guests remained in the lounge, while the "boys" again congregated in the kitchen where they ate from a communal dish. The diviners returned to the children's bedroom where they ate, drank and talked among themselves. At approximately 04h00 the music and dancing were resumed but

now the floor was open to whoever wished to dance. This continued into the early hours of the morning.

CASE STUDY NO.2

Outline

The second *intlombe* that I attended took place in Guguletu, NY 11, no.195 on Saturday the 8 September 1989. The appointed starting time was 19h30. The event was held by Gogo Morwadi in her home - a two-bedroomed council house, with a lounge, kitchen and an outside bathroom and toilet. The children's bedroom, adjacent to the lounge, had been modified to form an extension to the lounge area, when necessary i.e. the wall between the bedroom and the lounge had been demolished and replaced by a curtain. I was told by Gogo Morwadi that this had been done for the specific purpose of *iintlombe* (pl.) when more space was needed to accommodate many people likely to attend the event.

She also told me that this *intlombe* had a dual function:

1. to propitiate, and communicate with, the ancestors; and
2. to consecrate the marriage of Gogo Morwadi and her husband, Mike Mhambi.

Phase 1 which lasted until 06h15, included a *-vumisa* (ref.pp.197ff) while a special ritual was the focus of Phase 2. Thus this *intlombe* comprised two distinct phases or sections, each having different, yet related, functions with Phase 1 being a prerequisite for the enactment of Phase 2.

I arrived at the appointed time with Gogo Magwasa, Baba Mancu (the herbalist) and Spokes, all of whom I had collected on the way to the event. There was very little activity and I anticipated another long wait for the *intlombe* to begin. A short while later I realised that I

had left the VCR's batteries at home. Since I could not record without them, I drove home to fetch them after being assured by Gogo Morwadi that the seance would not start without me.

When I returned at 20h15 I found a large number of diviners and novices (approximately 15) gathered together in the extended section of the lounge. ALL were on their knees and bent forward with their faces almost touching the floor. They were in the process of *-phahla* ('praying' to the ancestors - see p.23) and the characteristic soft muttering and handclaps were the only sounds to be heard. The audience sat on wooden benches, in an austere silence, waiting for the singing and dancing to begin.

The allocation of space was such that the general audience (spectator and participants which included the herbalist, Baba Manci) was confined to the lounge and kitchen areas. At no time did any member of the audience encroach on what was clearly the diviners' allocated area (i.e. the children's bedroom - see Plate no.21, p.363). The latter never sat with the other guests and spectators; they did, however, perform their dancing (*-xhentsa*) in the centre of the lounge, which was kept clear for this purpose. When dancing took place, the guests either sat or stood against the walls of the lounge.

Whereas *-xhentsa* was performed in the centre of the lounge, *-thokozisa* (praising the ancestors, ref.p.20) was performed in the children's bedroom among the diviners (see Video Extract no.2). Only one diviner (Gogo Dublamanzi), broke this format by occasionally performing *-thokozisa* by either

kneeling on the floor, or by parading up and down in the centre of the lounge. (This may have been due to the fact that, on both occasions, she had criticised the guests for their unenthusiastic singing - see Video Tanscription in Appendix A, p.307).

Gogo Morwadi's bedroom was used by the diviners to prepare themselves both psychically and physically (making last minute adjustments to their outfits) prior to their solo - *thokozisa* and -*xhentsa* session (see Video Extract, no.2). From here a diviner would make a dramatic entrance into the centre of the lounge where she would perform her first - *xhentsa*. At the conclusion of such a session, she would return to this room for a brief rest before resuming her place among the other diviners in the children's bedroom. Bouts of dancing occurred in virtually unbroken sequence, each diviner taking it in turns to dance, according to rank and status, e.g.:

1. Gogo Mahlabekufeni
2. Gogo Mkhawulela
3. Gogo Moya Wezwe
4. Gogo Magwasa (who also performed a -*vumisa* (see Video Extract, no.3 and Appendix A, p.300).
5. Gogo Finisa (male)
6. Gogo Dublamanzi
7. Gogo Morwadi

The diviner who held the highest status at this *intlombe* was Gogo Mtsila but she refrained from taking part in the -*thokozisa* and -*xhentsa* sessions because of her age (she is about 60 years of age).

After the final *-thokoziza* and *-xhentsa* performed by Gogo Morwadi there were three successive performances of *-hlehla* (possession by the Ndau ancestors; ref.p.209) by Gogo Magwasa, Gogo Moya Wezwe and Gogo Mkhawulela (see Video Extract no.4). Four drums were used in this phase of the *intlombe*, of which Spokes played one, while the other three were distributed amongst those diviners seated in the children's bedroom (for a word-for-word direct transcription of this phase see Appendix A, p.294-317).

At this point Spokes became violently possessed by his *idlozi* (one of his ancestors) and he had to be escorted out of the house and into the back yard by a number of people. At one stage he began accusing Gogo Pheko (Gogo Morwadi's *ithwasa* (novice) of being *umthakathi* (a witch). Eventually he was brought under control by the *ixhwele* (herbalist) Baba Manci.

At about 02h45, food and drink was served. I then discovered that in fact, one goat had already been slaughtered prior to the *intlombe* and was now being used to feed the people. A second goat was tethered in the outside bathroom and was to be used for the ritual killing, scheduled for the following day.

Approximately an hour later, the entire performance of *-thokoziza* and *-xhentsa* was repeated as before with the exception of the *-vumisa* and the *-hlehla* sessions. Spokes, however, was in no condition to provide the drumming and his position was filled by Mike (Morwadi's husband to be) or Tony (Morwadi's eldest son). Audience participation was

minimal at this stage and by about 05h30 most people had left for home.

At 06h15 preparations began for the second phase of the *intlombe* i.e. the consecration of the marriage of Gogo Morwadi and Mike, which took place in the back yard (see Video Extract, no.5). Two large reed mats were laid out in front of the *indumba*. Various objects, including 1 large calabash, 3 smaller calabashes, 3 large knives and a container of snuff, were set out on top of an open sheet of newspaper. Gogo Morwadi and Mike then took their positions sitting on the two reed mats (*amacansi*=Zulu). Two diviners, each having a drum, also seated themselves on reed mats, lying on the area between the *indumba* and the marriage couple. Some diviners stood behind Gogo Morwadi and Mike, while others sat next to the drummers. Eventually, the white goat was brought out and held in place behind the diviners, who stood in turn behind the marriage couple. Only one song was sung throughout the entire ceremony and this was at the request of Gogo Mtsila who was now clearly in charge of the proceedings. The song, *Angulale kunenyoka* (My wife does not sleep in the house where there is a snake), was performed in a very subdued manner (see Plate no.22, p.364).

Some *imphepho* (ref.p.182, note 39) was laid on the ground at the feet of Morwadi and Mike and it was set alight by Gogo Pheko. Gogo Magwasa then proceeded to cut the goats' throat and the collected blood was used, together with various *imithi* (medicines) to 'wash' Morwadi and Mike from head to foot.

Using a razor blade, Gogo Mtsila then made a considerable number of small incisions (-*ginisa*=Zulu, see p.155) on their bodies, including the tongue and other very specific points. Via these open wounds, more *imithi* was massaged into the blood stream. Finally, some of the goat's fat was broken into small portions by Gogo Mtsila and distributed to each of the diviners who were now dancing around the marriage couple in a clockwise direction. The juice of the fat was squeezed out and some was drank by Gogo Morwadi and Mike while the rest was smeared over their bodies. Adding to this, Gogo Mtsila then cut open the gall bladder of the goat and smeared the yellow gall over the couple, thus completing the ritual. ALL the diviners then danced joyfully round Gogo Morwadi and Mike for a short while before going to wash their hands in the bathroom.

Phase 2 of the *intlombe* was now over and everyone who was still present (most of whom were diviners) found a comfortable spot and slept until 12h30 when preparations for the final stage of the *intlombe* began.

Five drums were carried into the back yard, and wooden benches were positioned there for people (the guests) to sit on. Spokes had recovered by now and resumed his position behind one of the drums. The other drums were played predominantly by the other novices (see Plate no.23, p.365).

A large audience gathered as the individual diviners, again appearing in order of rank performed their -*thokozisa* and -*xhentsa* sessions in almost exactly the same manner as the night before (see Video Extract no.6). The *intlombe* ended

at about 16h00 that afternoon (see Plates nos.23, 24, & 25, pp.365-367).

CASE STUDY 3

Outline

Intlombe no.3 took place in a house located in Site C, Khayelitsha on Saturday the 20th January 1990. It began at 14h30 and ended at approximately 19h00 that evening, and was therefore the shortest seance that I attended. Contrary to my expectations, the house in which this event was held was not what one might expect to find in a place like Khayelitsha (self-made corrugated iron structures being more common). It was a newly-built, modern, three-bedroomed home with wall-to-wall carpeting in every room. I was told that the cost of the house was R73,000. Immediately prior to the *intlombe* I was also told by Gogo Magwasa that this seance could not really be called an *intlombe*, and when I pushed her for a more appropriate term, she replied that it could be called *uphahla* (to pray to the ancestors; ref. p.23). Gogo Morwadi however, settled for the appellation, small *intlombe*. The reason for holding this small *intlombe* or *uphahla* was an important one: it was necessary for the initiation of a middle-aged woman into her apprenticeship as a novice diviner (*ithwasa*) under the tutelage of her *igqirha*, Gogo Morwadi. The ceremony was a means of informing the ancestors of the woman's intentions and to seek their protection and assistance in her future undertaking.

I arrived with Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa at 14h30. We had brought a drum (*isigubu*) with us, as well as a pot (*ingqayi*) of *ibudlu* (a herbal potion; ref.p.187) and a forked stick, both belonging to Gogo Morwadi. Neither Gogo Morwadi nor Gogo Magwasa wore their diviner's outfits but

were dressed in conventional western clothing. I was told that it was not necessary to wear diviner's regalia as this affair was only a 'small' *intlombe*. We arrived to find the lounge cleared of all furniture, and wooden benches lined the walls. A number of people had already arrived, and there were many more men than women in the room. I was surprised to see that Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa were the only diviners present, as I fully expected several diviners to attend the event. Many of the people present were family relatives and friends and only a few were unofficial guests. *Umqombothi* ("Qombothi, um-, n.2, water in which stamped maize has been rinsed; very light beer" [McLaren & Bennie, 1963:138]), was already being passed around and casual conversation was in progress. Here again, as in case study no.2, I noticed a clear division of the entire proceedings into two distinct phases. Phase 1 consisted of or centered round *-phahla* (communion with the ancestors), while Phase 2 centered around *-thokozisa* (verb causative meaning - lit. 'to make happy, to appease') and *-xhentsa* (dancing sessions).

I followed Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa into the main bedroom where the *uphahla* was to take place. The initiate, Mike and a few members of the initiate's close family had already gathered there. A sheet of yellow plastic had been placed on the floor between the double bed and the wall. On it stood a large tub of *umqombothi*, two white chickens, the pot of *ibudlu*, a few bottles of lager and a bottle of vodka. Something of vital importance was missing, however, and the ritual could not proceed without it - this was *imphepho*. I was hurriedly sent over to Old Khayelitsha with Mike and Spokes to obtain some *imphepho* from Gogo Mtsila. On our

return, I discovered that the group of people gathered in the lounge had begun dancing and singing. A second drum had been procured and Spokes joined Maria (Morwadi's youngest daughter) in the drumming, thereby supplementing her drum rhythm-pattern. Although both men and women took part in the singing and clapping, only the men danced in a circle in the centre of the floor. *Thokozisa* (also referred to as *u-camagushelo*, propitiation) was performed between songs in the following manner: the men would descend onto their knees; one man would then deliver his speech while the others listened to it and clapped their hands intermittently, adding the appropriate '*camagu*' ('be appeased') in response to each of his statements (see Plate no.26, p.368).

In the bedroom the *imphepho* was placed in a metal dish and set alight. The dish was then passed around to the members of the family gathered in the room, and the smoke was inhaled by those who wished to do so. The initiate, however, was obliged to inhale a substantial amount, as it was said that the smoke had a calming effect on her *amadlozi* (see Plate no.27, p.369).

This was followed by a session of *-phahla* performed by the initiate, Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa. ALL three knelt with their heads lowered, their shoulders and torsoes covered with a *hiya* (Swazi cloth). After the session, I asked Gogo Morwadi what had been said in the *-phahla*. She replied that "...we just let the ancestors know what's going on and we asked that she (the initiate) should have good luck and make progress in her work".

One of the chickens was then selected and slaughtered as an offering to the ancestors. Its throat was cut by the novice and the blood was collected in a large metal basin; it was not used, however, for any further ritualistic activity (see Plate no.28, p.370). Shortly after this, the drumming in the lounge became more intense as the novice prepared to make her appearance to those gathered in the lounge. This marked the conclusion of Phase 1 of this *intlombe* at about 15h55.

The appearance of the novice (*ithwasa*) before the audience was accompanied by vigorous drumming, and excited murmurs from the audience. The novice immediately joined the other guests and family in *umxhentso* (dancing) and the dancing was open to anyone who wished to join in (see Plate no.29, p.371).

The proceedings were interrupted by the unexpected arrival of Gogo Mkhawulela who, after changing into her diviner's dress, made a dramatic entrance into the dancing area. The dance floor was immediately cleared of people as Gogo Mkhawulela proceeded to present her solo session of *-thokozisa* and *-xhentsa* in her usual manner. Gogo Morwadi acted as the recipient of the *-thokozisa* as she was the only other working diviner present (Gogo Magwasa was still suffering from the effects of *umlaza* (ritual impurity; ref. p.137) at this stage).

Gogo Mkhawulela was the only qualified diviner to perform at this *intlombe*. Neither Gogo Morwadi nor Gogo Magwasa took part in *-thokozisa* or *-xhentsa*; they told me that they did not wish to do so as this was only a 'small' *intlombe*. They

did, however, add to the singing. When Gogo Mkhawulela had finished her performance, the dance was again taken up by anyone who wished to do so. Communal dancing in this manner usually took place in a large circle in which everyone danced in an anti-clockwise direction. Occasionally someone would break from the circle to dance a solo in the centre. At this point, there was no reason for dancing other than pure enjoyment (see Plate no.30, 372).

At approximately 17h30 food was served and this was followed by a series of lengthy speeches (see Tape Transcription, Appendix B, p.318) all of which were concerned with the welfare of the novice. At this stage, many of the guests left, or fell asleep.

Communal dancing was resumed and I was permitted to play one of the drums. The *intloabe* ended at about 19h00. Gogo Morwadi was paid R20 for her services and she was also given a bottle of vodka and the remaining white chicken. On the way home, she exchanged the bottle of vodka for cash at a local shabeen (she prefers Coke caCola!).

CASE STUDY NO.4

Outline

This *intlombe* was held by Gogo Magwasa in Langa, Zone 8, on the 4th February, 1990. It was initially scheduled to begin at 08h00 but was postponed till 12h00 and then again till 20h00. Unlike the first *intlombe* held by Gogo Magwasa on the 5th August, 1989, this one was not arranged specifically at my request but had a legitimate function. Gogo Magwasa was at the time suffering from *umlaza* (ritual impurity, see Chapter 2, p.137) as she had had contact with a corpse; her father-in-law had died in her house, with the result that both she and her house were 'unclean' or 'dirty'. The effects of *umlaza* are particularly serious in the case of a working diviner, as Gogo Magwasa put it, 'I am in the dark, my *amadlozi* have run away and I cannot see [fortune].' Under such circumstances a diviner cannot pursue her work, and must undergo a process of ritual cleansing (*uku-hlanza*) to rid herself of the *umlaza* condition. This *intlombe* was held for the purpose of ritual cleansing and was referred to by Gogo Magwasa as *uku-hlanjwaintsimbi* (the washing of the beads). Gogo Magwasa had chosen a number of white chickens as opposed to a goat, for the ritual killing. I was rather surprised at this, in view of the apparent seriousness of this *intlombe*. Gogo Morwadi's only reaction to my surprise and queries was that she '...should have used a goat, chickens are not so good, but if one cannot afford a goat, one can use white chickens'.

This *intlombe* was extremely slow in starting. I arrived one hour late - at 21h00 - accompanied by Gogo Morwadi, Mike, her two daughters Brenda and Maria, her recent *ithwasa* (Gogo

Mash/ya) and the diviner, Gogo Mkhawulela. Inside, the house appeared to be almost deserted; four men sat on wooden benches in the lounge quietly talking among themselves. I found Gogo Phakamisa, a large female Xhosa diviner, sitting in the children's bedroom which, as in case study no.1, seemed to be set aside for the gathering of the diviners. Spokes, the drummer, arrived about half an hour later but there was nothing for him to do, at that stage.

At about 22h00 I was asked to take Mike and Dhlamini (Gogo Magwasa's husband) to a shabeen to procure a bottle of brandy which was to be Gogo Morwadi's contribution to the *intlombe*. When we returned, I found Gogo Morwadi carrying a plastic bucket in one hand (it contained a herbal concoction) and her *itshoba* (switch) in the other. She was in the process of sprinkling the potion on the walls and floor of the children's bedroom; she also sprinkled some in the passage, kitchen and lounge. I did not see her carry out this ritual in Gogo Magwasa's bedroom but she may have done so before my return. I was informed that Gogo Morwadi was 'cleaning the house' and 'taking out the dirty stuff' i.e. she was carrying out the cleansing ritual *uku-hlamba*. This was a necessary procedure as Gogo Magwasa's father-in-law had died in her home, thus polluting and contaminating the house which was 'dirty'.

The ritual cleansing was followed by a *-phahla* session in Gogo Magwasa's bedroom. I was not invited to attend this *-phahla* and it was only by chance that I, in fact, discovered that it was being held. I had become immersed in making repairs to a faulty microphone. I hardly noticed that the house had become very quiet and very empty. Rather

puzzled, I wondered where everyone had gone to and my curiosity caused me to use considerable force in an attempt to open Gogo Magwasa's closed bedroom door. It was securely jammed however, and only the top half of the door gave in about 5cm. The room was dimly lit with a red light bulb and there were approximately 5-6 people huddled together on their knees on the floor (i.e. in the characteristic *-phahla* position) in the confined space in front of Gogo Magwasa's *indumba*. I noticed that those who took part in this *-phahla* were: Gogo Morwadi and her husband, Mike, Gogo Magwasa and her husband, Dhlamini and Gogo Mashiya (*ithwasa*) (Gogo Phakamisa did not attend). The room was filled with the smoke and sweet odour of burning *imphepho*. I was just able to make out the soft double hand-claps and almost inaudible voice or voices of the diviners. When they had finished (about 15 minutes later) Mike informed me that '...they were just doing *phahla* that everything should go well'.

After this session, everyone returned to the children's bedroom where they drank *umqombothi* and chatted among themselves about the rising cost of living, and working conditions. By 23h00 Spokes had fallen asleep over his drum and there was no sign of any increase in activity. It occurred to me that the *intlombe* might be a complete failure. I then heard Gogo Phakamisa state that she would like to *xhentsa* and Gogo Morwadi indicated that I should set up my equipment in the lounge as they were about to begin.

Almost immediately, a song (*Thokhoza 'Ngoma*) was started, the basic drum rhythms being provided by Spokes playing on one drum and Maria on another. Gogo Morwadi's recent *ithwasa* (Gogo Mashiya) made a sudden and dramatic entrance

and, seating herself in a cross-legged manner on an *icansi* (reed mat) in the centre of the floor, she performed a vigorous session of *-hlehla*. At one point in the proceedings, I noticed a crowd of people gathered outside the open front door. They were prevented from entering the house before Gogo Mashiya had finished, at which point they began singing (*Thokhoza 'Ngoma*) and filed into the lounge dancing, in a group, in an anti-clockwise direction. Suddenly the house was packed to capacity. The diviners' entourage was led by Gogo Morwadi's other *ithwasa* (Gogo Pheko) who also assumed her position on the *icansi* and performed her *-hlehla*.

As she concluded her performance, I heard someone in one of the bedrooms singing loudly '*Bingelela Nonke*' and I knew that Gogo Mkhawulela was about to make her entrance.

There followed a succession of *-thokhozisa* and *-xhentsa* sessions by all the diviners in order of their status as follows:

1. *ithwasa* (Gogo Mashiya)
2. *ithwasa* (Gogo Pheko)
3. Gogo Mkhawulela
4. Gogo Magwasa⁴
5. Gogo Phakamisa
6. Gogo Morwadi

After this, Gogo Morwadi plunged straight into a session of *-hlehla*. This was followed by an intimate *-thokhozisa*, performed in an extremely subdued manner, with Gogo Magwasa. When she had finished, Gogo Morwadi stood up abruptly and left the room. Gogo Magwasa then assumed the *-hlehla*

position on the *icansi* and taking the *hiya* that Morwadi had used, she covered her legs and hips and proceeded to perform what seemed to be a mimick of Gogo Morwadi's *-hlehla*, laughing and making humorous gestures while shaking up and down. Gogo Magwasa then followed Gogo Morwadi into the children's bedroom where all the diviners had congregated.

A short while later food and drink was served. Gogo Magwasa seemed to be enjoying her *umqombothi* rather more than usual and became increasingly jocular. At one point, I noticed she secretly removed Gogo Pheko's *isaqila* (knobed stick) and *umkhonto* (spear) which had been lying on the floor by her side. The articles were then covertly passed around the room, eventually coming to me, as I stood in the doorway. Mike then casually came out of the room, took the articles and hid them under the mattress in Gogo Magwasa's bedroom. Eventually, Gogo Pheko realised that her *isaqila* and her *umkhonto* were missing and she confronted everyone as to their whereabouts. No one would oblige her with a reply and I later learned that this was, in fact, a small 'test' set up for Gogo Pheko as she was a *thwasa*. She was now required to use her 'spirit' to find her hidden articles, a process which was called *-phengula*. (*phengula*, v.t. search out, bring to light, discover; [McLaren & Bennie, 127]).

Gogo Phakamisa then suddenly burst into a short *vumisa*, letting Gogo Pheko know that her articles were somewhere in Gogo Magwasa's bedroom without stating the precise locality. Singing and clapping were used to induce a state of trance in Gogo Pheko who then stood up and went into Gogo Magwasa's bedroom but failed to find her articles. (Although she groped under the mattress, where they had, in fact, been

hidden) she failed to find them). She made 3 attempts in all, before she retrieved the missing objects.

By 05h15 the *intlombe* was unofficially over. A few remaining people continued to drink and talk. Some of the men, however, over-indulged in *umqombothi* and had collapsed on the floor. Only Mike sat casually in the lounge smoking. I decided to go and sleep in my car (see Plate no.31, p.373).

I awoke at 07h00 with my watch alarm sounding in my ear and made my way into the house. Gogo Morwadi was awake and sitting on the bed sniffing some snuff. She said casually 'we will leave for the river soon'.

The second phase of this *intlombe* was the ritual washing (*uku-hlamba*) of Gogo Magwasa and her husband, Dhlamini. It began by packing my car with everything needed for the *uku-hlamba*; this included:

1. a bucket of boiling water
2. 2 white chickens
3. 1 empty bucket
4. 1 bag containing bottles of alcohol
5. 1 earthenware pot (*ingqayi*) of *ibudlu*^s (see Plate No.39, p.381).
6. 1 small container of special *umuthi* for *uku-phalaza*

Almost an hour later we arrived at a river in Faure, a small settlement near Stellenbosch. There was a light casual atmosphere as though this journey was an every-day procedure.

After rejecting a place by the river that I had found (on the grounds that the water did not run fast enough) we finally parked on a bridge and after some excitement at Gogo Morwadi almost stepping on a large snake, we made our way down a path to the river flowing under the bridge. There were small rapids, and the water was shallow, thus the locality itself was suited to the ritual washing, which was carried out as follows:

1. Gogo Magwasa walked into the river and squatted on a rock which jutted out of the water. Here she performed *-phahla* to the *ama-dlozi*, and threw a silver coin into the water as a symbolic offering to the ancestors. She then returned to the river bank.
2. Her husband, Dhlamini, followed and repeated the procedure but threw 2 silver coins into the water (see Plate no.32, p.374).
3. He was followed by Gogo Morwadi who did the same, throwing 1 silver coin into the river (see Plate no.33, p.375).
4. The ritual killing took place and the 2 white chickens were slaughtered by cutting their necks (with a blunt knife). The blood was allowed to flow into an empty bucket. Gogo Morwadi added some *»uthi* to the blood saying it was to repel any bad luck (see Plate no.34, p.376).
5. Some of the *ibudlu* was decanted into a bucket and diluted with some of the warm water brought with us. Approximately half a bucket-full of the potion was given to Dhlamini who then returned to the rock in the river. There he performed the ritual *-phalaza*,

vomiting into the river. This took about 3-4 minutes.
(Casual conversation continued throughout).

6. Gogo Magwasa followed the same procedure as her husband (see Plate no.35, p.377).
7. Mike diluted the bucket of chicken's blood with water taken from the river. It was thoroughly mixed and 2 buckets full of the diluted mixture were made ready.
8. Gogo Morwadi then told me that I should go with the men further up the river where they would wash.

The women would remain where they were.

The separation was merely due to the fact that Magwasa and Dhlamini were to be stripped naked.

We headed up river but were unable to find a suitable spot. The river bank ended abruptly and the water was deep. We decided to wait until the women had finished and then return to wash Dhlamini there.

9. When the women had finished, we returned and Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa headed back for the car.

Dhlamini then removed his clothes and took his place on the rock in the river - facing East. (It was important to know where the sun rose).

Mike then took the bucket containing the *uku-hlamba* potion and proceeded to pour it slowly over Dhlamini's entire body, including his head. Dhlamini washed himself as one would when taking a shower. When he was finished, he returned to the bank and got dressed. I ventured to ask Mike why Dhlamini had not rinsed himself with clean river water as I imagined the blood drying sticky on the skin. Mike simply replied '...no, it must dry on him'.

The ritual cleansing was thus concluded at 09h36 and we drove back to Gogo Magwasa's house in Langa where we drank some tea and chatted a while before leaving for home.

COMPARISON OF CASE STUDY NO.2 AND NO.4

A comparison of case studies no.2 and no.4, clearly demonstrates the degree to which one can derive a standard model of *iintlombe*. It is evident that all four of the *iintlombe* that I attended, occurred within a framework in which seances generally unfold. All four, however, differed markedly with regard to particular aspects, content and function. This concept of a fairly rigid framework was corroborated by my attendance and observance of other *iintlombe* not mentioned here. Case studies no.2 and no.4 serve as role models in terms of a framework and also demonstrate the degree of variability within this framework.

Some obvious, yet significant, similarities exist between case study no.2 and case study no.4. Firstly, the venue i.e. both were held at the homes of the diviner who had arranged the *intlombe* and whose purposes it served. Secondly, the allocation of space or restricted areas within the houses were similar in both cases. The 'lounge' served as the focal point of the *intlombe*, being the area set aside for the performance of *-thokhozisa* and *-xhentsa* and the only area in which the members of the general public were permitted to be. The 'children's bedroom' was set aside solely for the use of the diviners and novices. One difference here, however, is that due to the adaptations in the interior structure of Gogo Morwadi's house (case study no.2), i.e. the demolition of the wall separating the children's bedroom from the lounge), the diviners were never out of sight or i.e. they were in visible contact with the audience. Unlike the situation at Gogo Magwasa's *intlombe*

(case study no.4) where the diviners enjoyed relative privacy when they retired to the seclusion of the children's bedroom.

Time-wise both *iintlombe* were set to last for approximately 20 hours from Saturday evening till late Sunday afternoon. As it turned out, case study no.2 followed this arrangement almost precisely whereas case study No.4 deviated from this to a large extent. It was extremely slow in getting started, beginning rather unenthusiastically at about 23h15 and ending at about 10h00 after cancelling the intended finale in the afternoon.

Although ritual killings were performed at both *iintlombe*, it is significant that Gogo Magwasa (case study no.4) used white chickens (as she had done previously, see case study no.1) whereas Gogo Morwadi slaughtered 2 goats. On both occasions one ritual killing was made just prior to the *intlombe* and provided later as food, and the second ritual killing was made during the *intlombe* i.e. at the ritual washing, *uku-hlamba*.

At both *iintlombe* there were more than sufficient quantities of alcoholic beverage in the form of lager, gin or vodka and traditional beer *umqombothi*.

The basic framework, common to these two case studies (and consequently all of the seances I attended), can clearly be divided into two distinct phases, each section having a function in its own right; yet they cannot be seen as separate events, the first phase being an important prerequisite for the second one.

Phase 1 was primarily characterised by the intense and highly active *-thokhozisa* and *-xhentsa* by the diviners. In both case studies no.2 and no.4, this section was preceded by a communal *-phahla*. Both these *-phahla* sessions had a propitiatory function regarding the ancestors. They differed, however, in that those permitted to participate in the *-phahla* of case study no.2 were either qualified diviners or novice diviners. In case study no.4, however, both Mike and Dhlamini (the husbands of Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa) took part in the *-phahla*.

A possible explanation for this is that firstly, both Mike and Dhlamini were to take part in the ritual cleansing of the second phase of this *iintlombe*, and secondly, I was informed at this meeting that both Mike and Dhlamini are regarded as diviners in their own right due to the fact that they are married to diviners Morwadi and Magwasa i.e. according to this notion all those present at the *-phahla* in case study no.4 were in fact 'diviners' although not all had official training in this field i.e. did not *thwasa*.

A further difference regarding this ritual was that in case study no.2 the *-phahla* was performed in full view of the public attendants sitting in the lounge, whereas in case study no.4 it was performed in Gogo Magwasa's bedroom behind a firmly closed door and in virtual seclusion.

Following the communal *-phahla*, one finds other variations within the overall format of the first phase of these *iintlombe*. These variations pertain specifically to the performance of other integrated rituals i.e. in case study

no.2, a *-vumisa* was performed by Gogo Magwasa during her *ithokhozisa* and *-xhentsa* session and concluding the first half of this section, was an extensive *-hlehla* (of *isiNdau* type) performed in succession by 3 diviners. Correspondingly, in case study no.4, there was no formal *-vumisa* but a *-phengula* was performed by Gogo Pheko (but only in the context of the diviners in the children's bedroom, out of view of the general public), and Gogo Morwadi performed *-hlehla* as a demonstration to her observing *thwasa*, on the correct technique of inducing spirit possession i.e. the *-hlehla* was not, as in case study no.2, of the *isiNdau* type.

A final difference in this section between case study no.2 and no.4, is that in the former the entire performance was repeated after a break for food and drink, and went on into the early hours of the morning. In case study no.4, however, there was no repeat performance after the break but instead, the *-phengula* carried out by Gogo Pheko took place at this point. This was then followed by casual conversation and drinking till everyone either left or went to sleep.

The number of diviners and guests was significantly higher in case study no.2 where approximately 8 diviners and 5 *iithwasa* attended, making a total of 13 active performers: i.e.

Diviners: (1) Gogo Mahlabekufeni
 (2) Gogo Mkhawulela
 (3) Gogo Moya Wezwe
 (4) Gogo Magwasa
 (5) Gogo Finisa
 (6) Gogo Dublamanzi

- (7) Gogo Morwadi
- (8) Gogo Mtsila
- iithwasa* (1) Gogo Pheko
- (2) Name unknown
- (3) "
- (4) "

On case study no.4, however, there were only four qualified diviners (including Gogo Magwasa who being in a state of *umlaza* was not permitted to perform in her usual manner but was severely restricted) and two *iithwasa*. Thus a total of only six active performers attended this *intlombe* i.e.

- Diviners: (1) Gogo Mkhawulela
- (2) Gogo Phakamisa
- (3) Gogo Magwasa
- (4) Gogo Morwadi

- iithwasa* (1) Gogo Mashiya
- (2) Gogo Pheko

Accordingly, case study no.2 provides a much larger repertoire of musical performance than case study no.4, particularly in view of the fact in case study no.4 the entire *-thokhozisa* and *-xhentsa* session was repeated twice, once after the break in the first phase and then again after the marriage ceremony of the second phase. This resulted in a grand total of approximately 90-100 songs being performed in case study no.2, in comparison to approximately 35-40 songs in case study no.4.

This standard of musical presentation is also proportionately represented in the number of drums (*izigubu*) present at each of these *iintlombe*. Case study no.2 had five drums available (unusual by any standards) whereas case study no.4 used only two drums. In the former case the

drums were played by Spokes (or Tony, Morwadi's eldest son or Mike) and the diviners (and novices) themselves, whereas in the latter case the drums were played by Spokes and Maria (Morwadi's youngest daughter).

The second phase of both these *iintlombe* was markedly different from the first. Both served a highly ritualistic purpose of which the most important aspect seemed to be the ritual killing and the ritual washing (*uku-hlamba*). In case study no.2 this section dealt explicitly with the marriage of Gogo Morwadi to Mike whereas in case study no.4, this section had the entirely different function of ritual cleansing, through *uku-phalaza* and *uku-hlamba*, of Gogo Magwasa and her husband, Dhlamini.

There are a number of major differences in the methods and presentation of these rituals. Firstly, as already mentioned, in case study no.2, a white goat was used for the ritual slaughter, whereas 2 white chickens were used for this purpose in case study no.4. Secondly, the ritual marriage of Gogo Morwadi in case study no.2 all took place in her own back yard, whereas the ritual cleansing of Gogo Magwasa and Dhlamini had to take place at a river of fast running water. Thirdly, in both cases various *imithi* were used in conjunction with the ritual slaughtering, for the ritual washing. As Gogo Morwadi and Mike in case study no.2, however, did not suffer from *umlaza*, they did not have to undergo *uku-phalaza*, as did Gogo Magwasa and Dhlamini. Fourthly, both rituals were carried out under the auspices of a senior diviner. In case study no.2 Gogo Mtsila filled this role whereas in case study no.4 it was Gogo Morwadi who was in charge. Fifthly, another significant difference

between these two rituals was the fact that whereas case study no.2 was in no way a secretive function and was open to anyone who wished to attend, in case study no.4, the ritual cleansing could only be attended by diviners of the same clan (or by very special invitation).

Finally, in case study no.2, one song (*Angulale kunenyoka*) was performed throughout the entire proceedings accompanied by a soft rhythm on two drums. In comparison, case study no.4 had no music whatsoever throughout the ritual, and the atmosphere was one of informality, and 'low-keyed' with no emotional fluctuations.

Casting the bones (*amathambo* = Xhosa) and consenting (*-vumisa* = Xhosa) methods of divining as practised by some diviners mentioned in this study.

Although both 'bone throwing' and the 'consenting' methods of divining have been discussed in detail by authors such as Hammond-Tooke, Buhrmann, Hansen and others, I feel that the somewhat unusual *modus operandi* followed by my informants in regard to these methods, needs some mentioning (see also Chapter 2, pp.122-124).

The *-vumisa* (to agree, consent) method of divining is basic to the Nguni. It often occurs within the context of a seance (*intlombe*) where the diviner diagnoses the source or cause of an illness or misfortune through direct communication with the ancestors i.e. the diviner serves as a 'medium' through whom the ancestors reveal relevant information to other members of the community. A *-vumisa* is frequently performed within the context of an *intlombe* as

the diviner needs to be in a trance state in order to communicate effectively with the ancestors, and this state can only be achieved through extensive sessions of *-xhentsa* (dancing and singing). This method of divining was performed by Gogo Magwasa in case study no.2. (See Video Transcription p.300 and Video Extract). The general procedure in this regard, seems to concur with that which is described by the authors mentioned above. Hansen provides the following report: "Most diviners...employ the *uku-vumisa* and *ukombela* methods. *Uku-vumisa* (from *v.uku-vuma*, 'to agree, consent') is a statement and assent method in which the diviner (i) dances to the music and communicates with the ancestors, and (ii) stops dancing and addresses the audience from time to time, or utters prophetic passages he has learnt from the ancestors; his efforts are accompanied by the singing, clapping and drumming of the rest of the group, and the audience, which is known as *ukombela/ukombela* ('to sing, clap and drum for the diviner'). *Uku-vumisa* is a sort of hot-cold technique in which the diviner gauges whether he is close to the right solution by observing the way the audience responds. If he is doing well the audience will reply *Siyavuma!* ('We agree!'); if he is on the wrong track, they will shout *asiva!* ('We do not hear!') or *uyaphosa* ('You are missing out, making a mistake')" (1981:570-71. See also Buhrmann 1984:59).

Hammond-Tooke reports that a *-vumisa* may be performed out of the context of an *intloambe*, and it is here that the method used by my informants differed, in a fundamental way, from that which is described by Hammond-Tooke and from the method noted by Hansen and Buhrmann.

My informants adopted the following procedure: The ritual ('-vumisa') is performed when a diviner is consulted by (usually) a small group of family members or close relatives, in connection with an illness or misfortune (e.g. various serious physical ailments - particularly of unknown causes, problems with a private business, insomnia, employment problems, family crises, etc.). If the cause of the illness or misfortune is known or evident then treatment may be given without performing a -vumisa, but if this is not the case, the group (consultants) are asked to remove their shoes and to seat themselves (on the bed or chairs) in the area of the diviner's *indumba* (see p.160, note 22) which is usually a corner of the diviner's bedroom where she keeps her divining materia. If the diviner is paying a 'house call' the ritual will simply be performed in the client's main bedroom. (An exception to this occurred in the '-vumisa' performed by Gogo Sukwini which took place in a tin shack in his back yard; ref.p.48).

The diviner then seats herself on the floor, facing the consultants, and lays a small reed mat (*icansi*) on the floor between her and the group. She then empties her 'bones' (*amathambo*) which she keeps in a small bag (*isikhwama*)⁴ and preferably without any questioning and in a casual manner she gathers the 'bones' into her hands and, while muttering softly, occasionally to the 'bones' themselves (i.e. communicating with the ancestors), she beats her clasped hands (holding the 'bones') on the *icansi* which lies on the floor in front of her. The bones are then cast onto the reed mat and a brief moment of silence follows as the diviner inspects the fall of the 'bones' before giving her interpretation. Her conclusions (i.e. diagnosis), however, do not come as one might expect i.e. as a simple,

straightforward monologue. The diviner abruptly presents her diagnosis in the form of the 'question and answer' technique i.e. she switches casually into the *-vumisa* method of divining (proceeding in a similar fashion as described by Hansen above), ending each statement of her diagnosis, as prescribed by the *amathambo*, with the customary "*-vuma?!*" (do you agree?). The consultants then respond with *siyavuma* (we agree) or *uyaphosa* (you are mistaken). At the end of the diviner's diagnosis, the consultants may request that the *amathambo* be cast a second time if they wish for further information (perhaps concerning another matter) or the diviner may cast the bones in order to divulge what remedial treatment (i.e. what medicines (*imithi*) or healing rituals are to be employed. The consultation is then over, the entire process taking approximately 15-20 minutes. A fee of R20 is charged for the *-vumisa* session alone and the cost of further treatment, carried out by the diviner herself, depends on the nature of such treatment.

If the above method is compared with Hammond-Tooke's description of the same ritual, i.e. a private *-vumisa*, in a rural context, one fundamental difference becomes apparent. He states the following: "Among Nguni the most usual method is for three or four men, family members or neighbours of the afflicted person, to seek a diviner with a good reputation. If possible, she should not reside too close, for they prefer one who is not conversant with the local gossip. They sit down, with uncovered heads, in a hut or in the area between the huts and the cattle byre, and the diviner squats opposite them. The diviner's method is to make statements. After each statement the inquirers clap their hands and shout '*Siyavuma!*' ('We agree!'), and the

diviner judges from the heartiness of the assent whether or not she is on the right track. If a point has been established satisfactorily, the inquirers say: '*Phosa ngenwa*' ('Put it behind you!'); if she is wrong they say '*Asiva!*' ('We do not hear')". (1989:113).

From this description (and others reported by authors mentioned above) it is clear that Nguni divination in a rural (or more 'traditional' context) does not include the use of the divining 'bones', but rather relies entirely on the mediumistic abilities of the diviner which are expressed through the *-vumisa* technique. Hammond-Tooke states that..."A broad distinction can be made in South Africa between divinatory practises of the Nguni, among whom the diviner is a spirit medium who diagnoses the provenance of illness and misfortune through the assistance of the ancestors, and the Sotho, Tsonga and Venda, among whom the use of the divining dice is the favoured method." (ibid.105).

Thus it would seem that my informants have successfully and effectively assimilated a method of divining which is not basic to their own culture but which is commonly practised by their neighbouring cultural groups. (Swaziland is situated in the north-west of South Africa, its eastern boundary bordering on Mozambique. It is therefore in close contact with the Tsonga - their immediate neighbours to the east; the Venda, situated in the north of South Africa; and the Sotho who are situated to the south-east and, perhaps of some significance, en route to Cape Town).

Evidence which seems to substantiate this possibility is found in (1) details pertaining to specific actions carried out by my informants when using the *amathambo* and (2) in the components of the 'bones' themselves (see Plates nos.36, 37 & 38, pp.378-380).

1. As mentioned earlier, my informants always communicated with the ancestors, muttering softly, just prior to casting the 'bones'. Hammond-Tooke mentions that a similar activity is found among Sotho diviners i.e. "...the throwing of the dice is always accompanied by an incantation to the ancestors." (ibid:114-115).

The same author also mentions that Sotho diviners hold the dice ('bones') in their cupped hands just prior to throwing them on the floor. My informants held the *amathambo* in a similar fashion.

2. There seems to be a close correlation between the objects included in a set of *amathambo* as used by my informants, and objects included in a Sotho set of *ditaola* (divining dice).

Although the *amathambo* used by each of my informants (i.e. those who demonstrated the 'bone' throwing technique to me) differed both in number and type of components, they all contained some common elements: e.g. = two dominoes, one being black and the other white, both having a numerical value of 6 and 4 represented by dots on one side e.g. set used by Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Dublamanzi; or both dominoes may be black with one being blank and the other having a numerical value e.g. set used by Gogo Magwasa.

These dominoes symbolized a male and female, one of which always referred to the consultant/patient - if this domino fell face down, as it usually did in my case, it was considered an ill omen.

- = various bones of which I have not yet been able to accurately determine their symbolic significance.
- = various sea shells of which the cowrie and the whelk are the most common - symbolic significance also unknown.
- = money, usually in the form of silver coins e.g. 10c and 20c pieces - Gogo Dublamanzi's set, however, included a R5 and R10 note. These naturally referred to the client's monetary affairs.
- = other small objects, perhaps stones, but as yet undefinable to me.

A comparison of the objects mentioned above with a Sotho set of *ditaola* as described by Hammond-Tooke, demonstrates some obvious similarities: "A set of dice will consist of the astragalus bones of sheep, cattle, antelope, wild pig, baboon and antbear, but may also include other objects such as sea shells and strangely shaped bones. Basic to the whole set, however, is a group of four bone or ivory tablets, roughly triangular in shape and with one face incised with dots or lines, the other face being plain. These are given names: *legwane*, *selumi*, *thwagadima* and *thogwane*, representing adult male, young boy, adult female and young girl respectively; thus they represent a complete family unit." (ibid:p.114).

The Venda make use of divining tablets (*thangu*) and, as the illustration (a) below demonstrates, these tablets strike a clear resemblance to the dominoes used by my informants. Note the division of these tablets into two equal halves, each half being 'ornamented' (symbolic significance unknown) by a number of dots or circles. Of particular interest is the tablet second from the left and the tablet on the far right, which clearly indicate a 6 and 4 pattern of dots in exactly the same manner as the dots represented on the dominoes used by my informants (illustration (b)).

Illustration (a): Venda divining tablets (*thangu*) as represented in Nettleton and Hammond-Tooke 1989:Chapter 6.

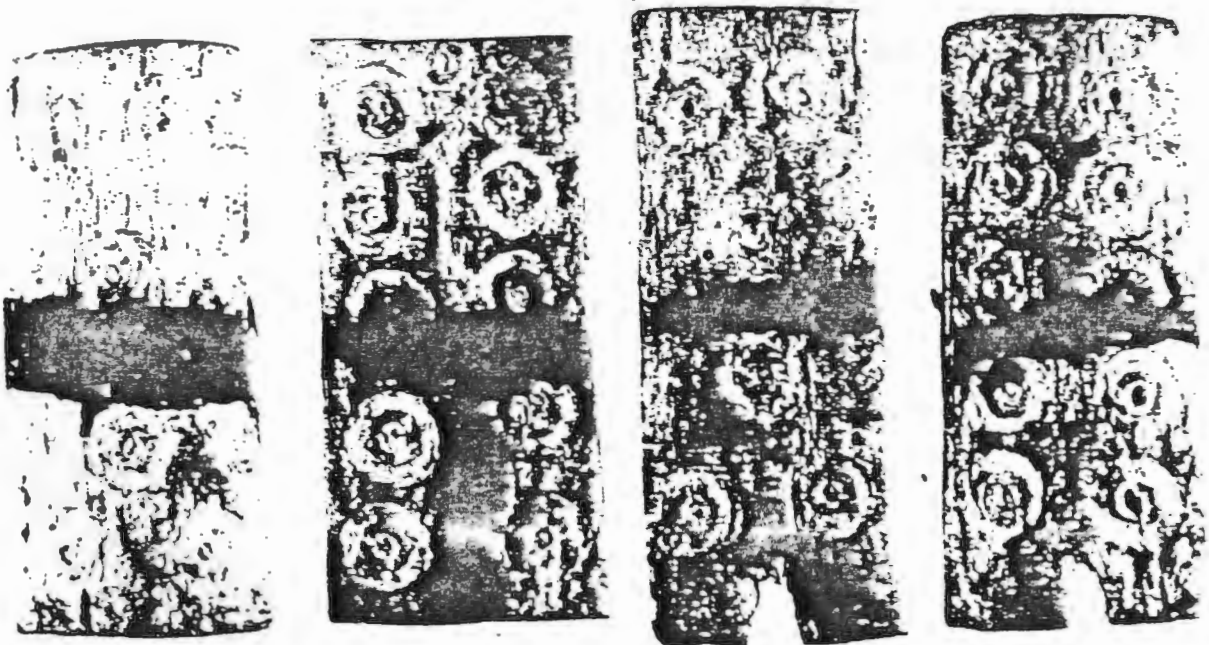
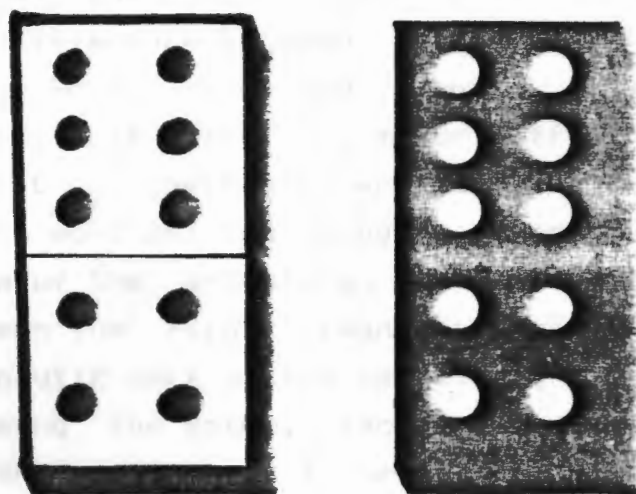


Illustration (b): Dominoes used by my informants (also see Plate no.38, p.380).



An additional factor which seems to indicate that my informants may have been influenced by the Sotho, Tsonga and Venda divining practises, is that they not only diagnosed but provided treatment for their clients themselves as opposed to the traditional Nguni practise whereby patients are referred to an *ixhwele* (herbalist) for treatment after the illness has been successfully diagnosed by the *sangoma* (diviner).

Hammond-Tooke states the following, which clearly demonstrates that in a 'traditional' context, there is a distinct difference between Nguni divination practise and that of the Sotho, Venda and Tsonga: "There seems to be no doubt, then, that there are major differences between Nguni and the rest in their approach to the divining profession. Whereas the work of the *isangoma* is performed constantly in the shadow of the ancestors, and a broad distinction can be made between the mainly diagnostic role of the diviner and the therapeutic work of the herbalist, this is not nearly so defined among the Sotho, Tsonga and Venda. *Dingaka* both diagnose and are experts in medicines." (ibid:115).

Thus this study seems to indicate that current trends in divination practises in the urbanized Black townships of Cape Town may demonstrate a breakdown of ethnic boundaries. Although this may seem to be the case, there is, at this stage, insufficient evidence to reach a final conclusion on this matter. I thus prefer to leave the matter open to further research.

CHAPTER 4

THE MUSICOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF DIVINATION SONGS

My field of research centered on the performance of music in the live enactment of rituals. This analysis and interpretation of musicological data is based on that music which I witnessed and recorded in the context of seances convened by Siswati-speaking diviners, but attended by predominantly Xhosa-speaking dwellers in Cape Town's townships of Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu and Khayelitsha. As stated earlier in this study (ref.pg.97) the population in these townships, though ethnically diverse, is mainly Xhosa-speaking. This is possibly the reason why Xhosa divination songs constitute a sizable part of the diviners' musical repertoires. A number of songs contain texts - or word-phrases therein - in the Zulu and siswati languages. Although the music of the songs under study appears to be related to the Xhosa musical tradition (in terms of language, form and musical tonality in particular), some of them possess a number of distinctive traits which merit special consideration (see pp.212-213 for discussion of *-hlehla* songs).

The township dwellers' conceptualizations of (i) a seance as a ritual event, and (ii) the music performed at such an event, is based on that music's function and is described accordingly in the Xhosa language, 'seance music' (*ingoma yentlombe* - *iingoma zentlombe* (pl)). However, this description differs from those of my diviner informants, whose conceptualization of their music is also based on its function (what it is for), but is commonly described in

terms of (i) the particular type of seance and the special actions involved, and (ii) in predominantly Zulu and Siswati language and terminologies.

All seances are essentially rituals which take place because communion with the ancestors is sought. The reasons for holding a seance vary - it may be an illness, a death, a bewitchment, other misfortunes, „the 'graduation' of a diviner, and even the foretelling ('to fortune') of events in an individual's life. Each of these reasons may be basic to the convening of a seance, and the purpose for which the seance is held, will determine its particular enactment. Thus seances are frameworks for different kinds of activities, and may or may NOT include music-making. But the essential element in any seance is divining by means of ancestral assistance. My diviner informants distinguished between several kinds of rituals and actions of divining:

- a. *uku-vuma* or *-vumisa* (Xhosa, Zulu = to agree or consent): a form of divination in which the 'consenting method' is used and bones may also be cast (described earlier on in Chapter 3, p.197-204).
- b. *uku-phahla* (meaning): another form of communication with the ancestors in which they are 'prayed to' (ref. Preface, p.23).
- c. *kuphala* is another verb form meaning 'to offer a libation' (Siswati- and this may be done in the context of any seance).
- d. a *uku-hlehla* (Xhosa, Siswati and Zulu: a verb expressing recession, or drawing back, withdrawing. It is the action involved in rituals of *uku-femba* or exorcism (*femba* being a verb denoting 'smelling out' or exorcism (see pp.145-146).

- e. *ku-phengula* (Siswati 'to foretell'): also used in the context of a seance indicating a method of finding hidden or lost articles.

Thus, in speaking of seances as events, the term most commonly used by people is *intlombe* (meaning a diviner's seance). However, my diviner informants preferred to use terminologies relating to specific actions in seances (as given above), all of which also refer to the reasons why the seances had been arranged.

Thus *-vumisa*, *-phahla*, *-hlehla*, *-femba*, *phengula* and others, are all forms or rituals of action which may occur in specific types of seance. Music-making does not necessarily feature in all such seances. As far as the situation in the townships of Cape Town is concerned, seances do not necessarily involve elements of *uk-ombela* (singing, dancing, drumming and clapping) as identified by Hansen. According to this author, all the seances she witnessed and analysed over 12 years of research work (and including the period after her main research post 1981) involved *uk-ombela* (this word was not used by my informants but was heard in the context of a seance where it was used by a spectator-participant). My own experiences in an urban environment, have shown that musical activity is not a requisite for seances or rituals of divining. Examples are sessions of divining by casting bones in rituals for diagnosing illness, witchcraft, treatment (ritual cleansing), many of which are in the nature of a private consultation between the client, one or two relatives, and the diviner. My findings are that seance rituals need not have music and that the reason for a seance will determine the use or non-use of music.

In musical seances, the choice of songs is made by officiating diviners who attend the event, and who will choose the music they consider appropriate for it, as each diviner presents her songs in the course of the event. The size of a diviner's entourage is relatively small. In those witnessed by me, the diviner's entourage comprised 3-4 other diviners of different rank (i.e. seniority in the profession) and one or two neophytes (i.e. there are more diviners than neophytes). The number of relatives in the spectator-participants was also small. This is probably due to the fact that the majority of my diviner's informants are from other, non-Xhosa culture areas. Although married and having children, most of their relatives live far away from them in other parts of the country. A main focus of my study was the activities of diviners who, as it turned out, interacted considerably in their professions. This may be a reason why their choice of musical genres is fairly uniform i.e. the songs they use do not differ greatly from one performance to another within the same, and different seances. A similar repertoire of songs appears to be shared by all of them, with the exception of a unique genre of *hlehla* songs, which are reputedly of Ndaau origin. These were performed exclusively in the seances presided over by Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa.

Apart from these songs, I think that it is possible to make a generalization (albeit a cautious one) on the type of musical content of a seance convened by the diviners who co-operated in this research. But my findings are not conclusive, based as they are on a limited number of songs. As such, they cannot be assumed to be representative of the musical content of ALL seances convened by most, if not all

diviners who are active in my areas of research. Their particular repertoires still await research.

My analysis of the music was complicated by the following fact; I had considerable difficulty in obtaining the texts of the *-hlehla* songs, which constitute a distinctive music genre, suited to a particular ritual (see Video Extract no.4). According to my informants, the language of these songs is '*isiNdau*',¹ meaning 'the Ndau language', spoken by the Shangana-Ndau people who are located mainly in Southern Mozambique. These songs also demonstrate structural and stylistic features which are distinguishable from the main corpus of Nguni (including Xhosa) songs. [References to certain structural features of Ndau music occur in Thomas Johnston's study of Shangana-Tsonga music (Thomas, F Johnston. Possession music of the Shangana-Tsonga. African Music Journal Vol.5/2: 1972) but they are minimal, and have to do with specific drum-rhythm patterns of Ndau music which have been incorporated into the repertoire of Shangana-Tsonga exorcism music].

I was unable to find anyone at the University of Cape Town who could help me with the language of the texts of these songs. My field assistants and interpreters (Spokes and Mike) were also unable to help me. However, one of my diviner informants (Gogo Morwadi's son, Gogo Mokwena, who is himself a diviner) volunteered to write down *isi-Ndau* texts for me, and to translate them into English for me. His work has been reproduced in this present study and he is the only source of information on the songs. I have not been able to find a Ndau-speaking linguist who could check the orthography for me, thus there is every likelihood that the

texts, as they stand in this study, are faulty. However, I have included transcriptions of some of the songs in this analysis, because, in their musical structure and style, they demonstrate certain features which are NOT typical of Nguni music generally, and Xhosa divination music specifically (the latter which has been well-documented).

It is my intention to collect many more *-hlehla* songs and to subject them to a detailed study, independent of the present work. To reiterate, a few have been included in this dissertation because they are part of the total repertoire of diviners' music collected and analysed by me, and as such they provide some interesting comparative musical material for this particular study.

Detailed musicological analyses of African music by Blacking (Venda, 1982), Rycroft (1967), Hansen (1981), Dargie (Nguni, Xhosa, 1988) have shown that the forms of African songs depend very much on the social situations in which they are performed, the size of the performing group, the musical ability, ingenuity and versatility of individuals within that group, the presence or absence of a good lead-singer, and lead-dancer, and instrumentalists. All the diviners songs I recorded were performed in rituals which were enacted in private houses. The total ritual and musical activities were, however, NOT confined to one room (as is the case of rural-based diviners' musical performances reported by Hansen, which always took place in a hut, except in the case of diviners' 'graduation' celebrations. Hansen's findings endorse those of anthropologists and ethnographers).

With the exception of phase 2, the *intlombe* held to celebrate the marriage of Gogo Morwadi and her husband Mike plus phase 2 (i.e. the ritual washing) in case study no.4 (which took place in the daytime and out-of-doors), all the seances I attended were held inside a house and people were restricted, according to their social status, to various areas within the house, each room serving a particular function within the context of the event.

Diviners do not start a seance, they enter much later on, after the proceedings have begun. These initial proceedings are usually restrained, with people talking and drinking beforehand. Once someone has instituted some music (often a drummer who commences drumming and may start a song and lead off a group of people), the spectators will commence clapping and dancing, later joining with vocal-choral phrases. At some later stage, when the event has somewhat livened up, the activity may either be (1) interrupted by the weird 'diviner's Call' (a rather eerie pathogenic cry) which indicates that a diviner (initially the lowest in rank) is about to begin her solo session of dancing and communication in the main room (the lounge area). This is then followed by other solo sessions of dancing and communication by diviners in order of their rank, or (2) the activity of the spectator-participants may be interrupted by a diviner introducing a particular song (e.g. Masiye'Mbo in case study no.1), after which all the diviners enter the main room (the lounge area) in order of rank.

They commonly leave this room inbetween dancing and divining sessions, and either go outside the house or into an adjoining room, where they will continue with 'solo' dancing and communication with the ancestors or have a brief respite from all the activity. Since diviners usually act as Lead-singers in song performances (and also insert spoken commentaries and monologues during a song), their temporary absence from the rest of the performing group has an effect on the structure of the song and also its overall musical sound. The basic interaction of Solo and Chorus phrases is broken for a time and the entire song then becomes a Chorus, with Solo phrases being absent, although the clapped and drummed rhythms are retained (see Video Extract no.2).

A certain convention seems to be observed by diviners and the spectator-participants in the performing of dancing: diviners usually dance solo and in turn, and only after these solo performances have taken place may other people dance if they wish to do so.

Another crucial factor in determining performance presentation is the size of the participating audience in relation to the size of the main area of activity (the lounge). The number of people attending seances varies according to the nature of, and reason for, that seance. A divining session involving *-phahla*, *-phalaza*, *-hlanza* and *-femba*, may be attended by 3-4 persons, since these rituals are of a private nature. But 'big *iintlombe*' involving the participation of many people, and the correspondingly 'big' preparation of quantities of food and drink, are large-scale events. In these contexts, the choreography of a song and its manner of performance (including characteristic movement

styles and behaviour) is theoretically accessible to everyone attending the event, but is practically NOT possible to them, possibly owing to the presence of so many people in a confined area. The overcrowding inevitably constricts and limits musical activity, and thus affects the quantity and quality of the music sound itself. The following effects were noted by me at 'big' seances:

- a. the technique of Call and Response is temporarily abandoned when the diviners leave the room and Solo Chorus interaction is broken;
- b. the participants tend to start shouting, rather than to sing;
- c. no one tries to match the others' movements (which, though not essential, is initially the norm in communal dancing);
- d. the drumming increases in volume - and even in tempo - and so does the loud singing (consisting only of Chorus phrases);
- e. their dance movements become more hectic; they tend to stand apart from one another (no longer as a close-knit group) and no longer even face one another; (this was particularly noticeable in case study no.1 which seemed less formal, perhaps as it was subsidised by me and not called for any ritual action).

Attempts to film-record such activity in a restricted area were highly problematic and even hazardous, as the equipment threatened to collapse on more than one occasion. The single light bulb (obviously 40w-60w) which lit the room, permitted little lighting and made the monitoring of the volume very difficult, and at times impossible. For these reasons, my film-recordings are dark and unclear at times and very noisy - the words of the song are often swamped by

the excessively loud drumming, clapping and thudding of dancing feet.

Another important aspect of the seances I attended is the association between the spectator-participants and the diviners. The former are essentially non-specialist musicians, and they tend to be diverse in their makeup. That is to say, the majority of the people who attended the seances were NOT always the SAME people. It is therefore not surprising that most of them are NOT familiar with divination songs, hence their frequent inability to sing the songs, which are introduced by the officiating diviners. Thus spectator-participants as a rule do not always know what to sing on a given seance occasion. This fact constitutes another major difference between Xhosa divination music documented by Hansen. According to this author, divination music is an essential element appearing in seances (*iintlombe*). She continues: 'Seance music, together with the particular dance it accompanies, and its drum rhythms, constitutes a music that is on a different level from the ordinary music performed by people as a form of recreation. Although spectators do participate in it, the bulk of the music is produced by highly trained devotees, who perform the music everytime they gather for ritual purposes. Since this happens frequently, one can regard divination music as one of the most rehearsed musics in the Xhosa musical tradition.' (1981:580). (underlining mine).

According to my own findings, diviners' songs in the townships -

- a. are not performed frequently, because seances involving music occur relatively infrequently, owing to circumstances which have possibly to do with the necessity for funding, to obtain food and drink for those likely to attend the event;
- b. although diviners perform the songs, they need a group of people with which to perform them. Since such a group varies in size from one seance to another, and since the people within it are seldom if ever the same people (apart from a main drummer), then the music is not performed on a regular basis and so cannot be regarded as 'well-rehearsed' music.

Evidence of people's unfamiliarity with songs was demonstrated in all the seances I attended involving music: the people often did not know what to sing, and individual diviners frequently interrupted the singing and dancing to admonish individuals who sang 'badly' and 'incorrectly' (i.e. they harmonized melodic phrases incorrectly). On many occasions I witnessed a diviner introducing a song which few, if any, of the people present were able to take up. In such instances, the diviner would introduce another song and even a third which all present knew, or could participate in because of the relative simplicity, repetitiveness and tonality of the music. This was a common way in which a diviner dealt with such a situation.

I have deemed it necessary to provide all the foregoing details prior to my analysis of the music, because they explain the meanings of the musical forms which emerged from the socio-musical activities which took place on different ritual occasions.

Aspects of form and style in Xhosa divination music have been described and discussed in great detail by Hansen. Her findings may be summarized accordingly, since they are basic to my comparative analysis of divination songs:

The form and basic structure of the songs:

- The form of the songs is cyclic i.e. comprising a total pattern of music, of fixed length (indicated by a form number e.g. 12, 16, which is repeated indefinitely and usually terminated abruptly by a soloist/song leader/diviner;
- The basic metrical patterns of the songs are expressed audibly by handclaps, supplemented by drum-rhythm patterns and sonic movement patterns;
- The melodies are structured antiphonally and comprise at least one, but commonly two, pairs of complimentary phrases of Solo and Chorus (or Solo and Chorus, and Chorus);
- The songs exhibit simple polyphony, with a two-fold temporal contrast between the vocal phrases, and the clap patterns. Antiphony with single-ended overlap between Solo and Chorus phrases (the Solo re-enters before the Chorus phrase is completed) occurs most commonly; I have recorded only a few examples of songs demonstrating 'double-ended overlap' (when the Solo phrase commences before the end of the Chorus phrase - as in single-ended overlap, but then it is extended, often continuing well into the chorus phrase of the following cycle.

Improvisations (involving the interpolation of additional phrases which result in harmonization) are minimal, and usually occur in conjunction with Chorus phrases. These dependent phrases usually consist of vocables, or words derived from the text of the Chorus phrase. Drumming

distinguishes Xhosa divination music from other traditions of Xhosa music. Drum rhythm patterns vary from song to song, but they always supplement the handclaps. There is thus no cross-rhythm between drum or clapped patterns. Dancing creates motional patterns which may be sonic or non-sonic. Sonic patterns emerge when diviners perform the characteristic *umxhentso* with its 'galvanic stamping'. The wearing of ankle rattles also help to define motional patterns sonically, and the latter may or may not create additional cross rhythms to the basic rhythm of the music expressed in drumming and clapping. *Umxhentso* styles vary in detail, as do the different drum rhythms but all are geared to the metrical framework of the music. In seance situations, diviners gradually feel their way into *umxhentso*, and may indicate contrasting metres by means of individual movement styles and body behaviour. These may be emphasized by vocal exclamations and sounds which are also made to a regular metre.

The use of disguised voice *-ngqokola* (I have never come across this term, however) has also been reported by Hansen (1981:128-130). A diviner may use a different voice as well as her body to deliver a song (e.g. she may crouch down on her haunches, or on her knees, dig her chin into her neck and sing in a 'small' muted voice). The aim seems to be to present a spectacular performance as a means of intensifying expression. As will be demonstrated, the emphasis on vocal expression in conjunction with body behaviour, is related to the context of specific seances.

Transcription

My system of transcription is based on a modified Western Notation System used by Gerhard Kubik in a study of *uthano* ('chante fables') or story-telling among the Chichewa-speaking people of Malawi.² In using this notation system, I have made some further modifications for reasons which are given in the following explanation.

In transcribing the songs, I 'transposed' them into the same pitch region, so that the melodic, tonal and harmonic traits they share (1) as songs belonging to a particular tradition of ritual music, and (2) as individual items of music performed within specific ritual contexts, may be more readily compared and contrasted.

Although the vocal pitches which occur within the songs do not concur exactly with the pitches of the Western equal-tempered scale, they are only minimally distinguishable from the latter, and so can be adequately represented in Western Staff Notation. With three exceptions, all the songs are set in a pentatonic scale which can be represented as follows:

Fig. (a):



It should be noted that the notation is relative and not absolute. However, the intervals between the notes are precisely represented, as are the intervals which occur when

harmonizations arise, notably in the Chorus phrases of the songs. As in Kubik's use of the Western Notation System, 'the overall pitch level'... in all the songs '...can be changed ad lib....according to the range of the voices' (1987:64). This change of overall pitch level is done by individuals from one performance of a song to another performance of it, even within the same context. Furthermore, overall pitch levels which tend to rise in the course of performances is a characteristic of Nguni music that has been noted by Rycroft (1967) and Hansen (1981) in their analyses of Nguni performance styles.

In his explanation of his use of a modified Western Notation System, Kubik points out that 'Problems created by the durational values and the duple-division character of Western Staff Notation, especially in phrasing, are eliminated'. Thus, as in xylophone music, Kubik employs vertical lines, which represent the elementary pulses, i.e. 'the smallest time unit' in an individual song.



After much deliberation, and several attempts at notation, I have chosen to exclude vertical pulse lines from my transcription because:


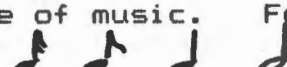
- a. the songs have texts, the words of which tend to accompany the vocal notes syllabically. that is, in most cases there is a regular syllable-pitch (tone) correspondence;
- b. at the same time, vowels are frequently elided in word phrases) a common procedure in Nguni speech) and words are therefore shortened. The elisions are customarily indicated with commas, e.g.
lapha emzini = laph' emzini ka
ka Baba; Bab';

- c. Although the vocal organization within the songs is not complex, there is usually a subtle rhythmic alignment of vocal patterns, and the clap patterns which define the basic metre of songs. Thus in any song, some of the vocal (sung) notes tend to fall somewhere between the claps. Furthermore, a sung note is frequently 'held over' onto the following 'beat' (with a clap) - a feature discussed at length by Hansen in her analyses of Xhosa music (1981:624ff). In most of the songs in this study, the sung 'notes tend to fall somewhere between the clap beats part of the time'; and 'beats may fall between rests' (i.e. "silences, when intonation of a note ceases'. (ibid).


Since the coincidence - and noncoincidence of sung notes and claps has to be accurately represented in order to demonstrate the rhythmic alignment of vocal and clap patterns, an exact representation of the durational values of the sung notes is essential.

The type of notation usually used for xylophone music, and involving vertical pulse lines, and the use of dots (•) on or between the 5 lines of the staff indicating the notes played at that pitch, does not express duration, because no stems or flags are attached to the dots. Thus in Kubik's system, the dot is not a durational symbol. It has a minimum durational value - of one elementary pulse, but '...the factual duration of a note is only determined by the position of the symbol following it' (Kubik:1987:64).

Any system of notation has to be adapted to specific needs of the music. For these reasons alone, I felt it necessary to provide the dots (•) with stems or flags, in order to denote (i) their minimum duration - a pulse, which is equivalent to a , and (ii) larger grouping thereof ( etc) as some of the songs in this study demonstrate.



The occurrence of certain sung notes in relation to clapped beats sometimes warrants the use of an even smaller note (a half pulse or ) e.g. song He 'mfaziwa': Fig. 2, p. 255). Although I am well aware of the problems 'created by the durational values and the duple-division character of Western Staff Notation, especially in phrasing' (Kubik 1987:64), I feel that durational symbols are crucial in the representation of this type and style of music. For these reasons I have used Western symbols , but I wish to point out that such symbols have meaning in terms of duration between sung pitches in relation to their exact occurrence within the basic metrical framework of the songs, as defined by handclaps. Groupings of pulses in no way imply any kind of metrical accentuation or phrasing which is implicit in Western Staff Notation.

The use of vertical pulse lines also present problems for the representation of easily readable transcriptions. The incorporation of several different symbols, e.g. sung notes, commas (indicating elisions in words), together with the words of the texts into an open 'score' of vertical AND horizontal lines, results in a "crowded" score which may bewilder the reader. The absence of vertical lines allows for the inclusion of legible texts as well as other details already referred to.³

Apart from the omission of vertical pulse lines, my transcriptions are allied to that used by Kubik. The symbol , denotes the cessation of a sung note. (The minimum duration of this sign is one elementary pulse). Heavily drawn vertical lines placed within the lines of the stave,

|: serve to isolate the vocal phrases within the total pattern of music.

Heavily drawn vertical lines at the end of the staff, together with double dots, :: indicate the completion of a cycle, and its repetition, with or without variations. Variant phrases are written in full, while unchanging phrases are indicated by means of the symbol -/. (as in Western music). Phrases interpolated by individual singers are indicated by 'interp.' in the 'scores'.

Glessandi (from a higher to a lower tone) are indicated by . Rising onglides to tones are indicated by means of the symbol , a procedure established by Rycroft and used also by Hansen. Such onglides usually occur with pressor consonants in the song texts, which have an effect on the musical realisation of spoken words. This study makes no attempt to explain this particular aspect of Nguni music. I have included on- and off-glides in the transcriptions only where they occur as precisely enunciated sung notes in the melodic realisation of syllables of words and phrases.

The transcription of drumming patterns appear beneath each musical item. Drumming involves the use of left- and right hand action, and their alignment is represented on two parallel lines.

In any African musical activity, physical movements are organized in sequences of patterns. (By movements I mean those produced in the dance and in the playing of instruments).

This study does not include detailed analyses of danced motional patterns. The only way in which this can be properly done is by means of frame-by-frame analysis, involving the use of film material and an appropriate system of dance notation. Such an analysis of dance aspects and techniques is beyond the scope of the present work. I have, therefore, confined myself to a description of the characteristic dance style of diviners (*umxhentso*) and a representation of the sonic or, non-sonic patterns of movement produced by individual *umxhentso* performances, in relation to the vocal, clapped and drummed pattern of the songs.

A proper, detailed analysis of body behaviour and movement styles (incorporating frame-by-frame analysis and dance notation) belongs to another study.

The musicological analysis of the four seances discussed in this study is based on 43 (+ 5 *Ndau-hlehla* songs) transcribed songs selected from a recorded total of over 200. These songs were chosen for analysis for four main reasons:

1. their particular relevance to this study i.e. songs which demonstrate the influence of urbanization on the music of diviners in an urban context;
2. songs which demonstrate the role(s) of music, its uses and function(s) in the live enactment of seances, including songs of symbolic significance e.g. ritual songs;
3. songs of unusual interest in this context e.g. songs of the *isi-Ndau* ancestors; and

4. the clarity of the recording i.e. songs which could not be accurately transcribed, due to poor recording, were omitted in this study after due consideration of their more discernible and perceptible musical aspects.

Audio extracts of all the transcribed songs presented in this study are provided, in their respective order, on the accompanying tape, e.g. Song *Bingelela Gogo* - Fig.3.p.256 = Song no.3 on tape.

Drum Construction

All the drums (*izigubu*, pl) used at the seances I attended, are of the same type. Each drum consists of a resonating cylinder with two heads. The drum heads are made from cowhide or goat skin and are secured in place, one on either side of the resonating cylinder, by lacing (made from the same material) which connects the skins and pulls them to the desired tension i.e. the tension of the drum heads is increased until the drum 'sounds well'. Drums are not tuned relative to one another. An interesting aspect of the drum's construction lies in the resonating cylinder itself. All the drums I encountered had resonating cylinders made from a cut off portion of a metal industrial drum. Drum diameters therefore, vary according to the standard diameters of industrial drums, but should not be too small. The height (width) of the drum is determined purely by the maker of the drum himself, who simply cuts the metal drum (usually with a hammer and chisel) to the desired length (see Plate no.6 & 7, p.347-348).

Kirby's description of the *isigubu* (sing.) differs from what I have found, only in the nature of the resonating cylinder. He states the following: "This drum consists of a

resonator, more or less cylindrical in shape, which is generally made from a hollowed-out section of some soft-wooded tree trunk, with a 'head' of calf skin or goat skin drawn over each end, the skins being secured by a lacing of thongs which connects them with each other, after the manner of a rope in an ordinary European bass drum" (Kirby 1968:45). Hansen also reports that drum cylinders are made of wood (personal communication, 1990) thus metal drum cylinders may be peculiar to the *izigubu* in an urban context.

Drum beaters are readily improvised by utilizing virtually any object that even remotely resembles a beater. Beaters that I encountered include: cut-up broom sticks (these were highly sought after), sections of a freshly-cut branch of a tree, and relatively lengthy (approximately 40cms) pieces of P.V.C. piping. Ideally, however, the basic characteristics of a beater may be summarized as follows:

- a. the beater should have a length of approximately 30cm, but I often came across beaters that were either longer or considerably shorter than this length;
- b. they should not be too heavy, though I have seen beaters made from a freshly-cut branch of a Port Jackson tree which were approximately 3.5cm thick and very heavy (the sap of the wood contributing to the weight); and
- c. both beaters should be of the same material and of equal weight, length and form. This, however, was virtually never the case.

In comparison, Hansen reports that beaters are made from curved sticks with rubber heads or curved strips of rubber (Hansen, 1981:p.580). This type of beater is also described

by Kirby who states that the *isiqubu* is played "...with small sticks which have padded heads..." (Kirby, 1968:p.45).

The only drum-maker who I came across in the black townships of Cape Town was Spokes himself (the 'master' drummer at the seances I attended), although all diviners claimed that they were able to make a drum, they preferred to simply buy one. Spokes told me that he obtained the skins used to make the drum heads either from the abattoirs or from events where a goat had been used in a ritual killing and he had been allowed to keep the skin. The metal industrial drum cylinders were procured from local scrap heaps or, as he put it 'you just find them lying around'.

Drums and techniques of playing

The number of drums used at the seances I attended varied between two and five. Such a large number of drums is unusual within the context of *intloombe* and according to Hansen, only one drum is the norm. The use of five drums (in case study no.2) however, seems to be an exception as three of the seances I attended (as well as other events not mentioned in this study) only used two drums.

Drumming may be performed by anyone who is familiar with the drum rhythm patterns which accompany the songs, including the diviners themselves. Although drummers from the spectator participants were usually men, women also occasionally took part in drumming. (At one event even I was permitted to play one of the drums, in which case I simply followed the rhythmic patterns provided by Spokes).

Hansen reports that drumming is usually performed by a woman and seldom by a man, and makes no reference to diviners themselves performing drumming at a seance.

At all the seances I attended, there was one 'master' drummer (Spokes) who dominated the drum rhythm accompaniment with his enthusiastic and intense playing. He was not available at all times during these events, however, (he disappeared periodically for reasons unknown to me) and on such occasions, his place was filled by anyone who wished to do so, and who was competent enough to provide the necessary drum rhythms.

Techniques of Playing

Drumming techniques vary in specific details from player to player and from song to song. Basically, however, drums can be played in one of two ways:

1. by placing the drum with one of the drum heads resting on the ground and then using both beaters on the other drum head which lies horizontally in front of the player;
2. the drum is played in the vertical position i.e. the drum is placed on its side (resting on the resonating cylinder and not on a skin head), resulting in both drum heads being perpendicular to the ground and available for playing on. The drummer either stands or sits behind the drum with the drum heads facing to his left and right-hand sides. The drum heads are then struck with a beater held in the left and right hands (in much the same way as a drummer in a march band would strike the bass drum). (See also Plate no.24, p.366).

There are many variations of the above-mentioned methods e.g. when the drum is being played in the vertical position, a drummer may choose to sit upon the drum cylinder itself, with his legs curved over the circumference of the cylinder. The drummer then strikes the drum, which is situated beneath him, on both drum heads with a beater held in each hand. Another variation occurs when the drummer sits on a bench or chair, behind the drum, which is held in the vertical position and is prevented from being displaced (through vigorous drumming) by the drummer placing one of his legs over the circumference of the resonating cylinder. The drum is then played as described in (2) above.

One aspect of drumming however, remains constant i.e. drummers employ a method of free-beating when striking the drum head, the beaters being allowed to rebound off the drum head immediately after the strike.

Patterns of Rhythm

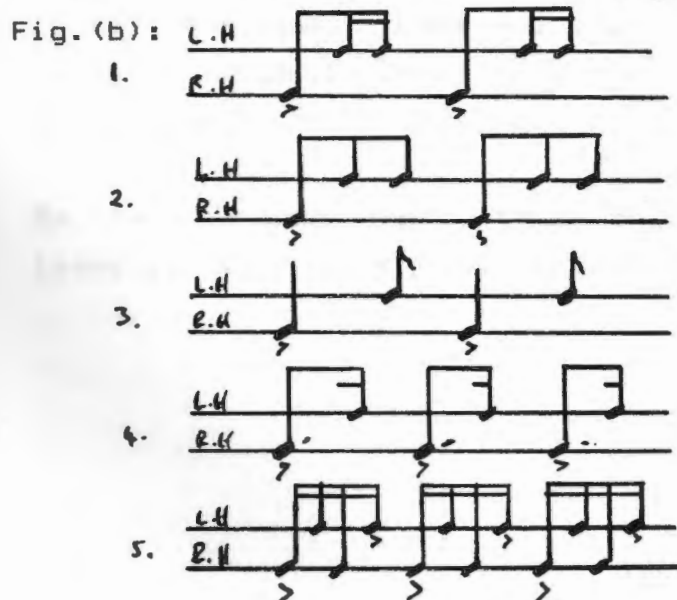
A fundamental concept in the understanding of African music in general, is that movement and sound production cannot be divorced from one another. Sound is the direct result of some co-ordinated physical movements, and it is these movements which play such an immense role in the process of African music production. "Indeed, motional style, at least in its basic principles, has been among the most persistent traits in African cultures. In black Africa identical motional patterns and concepts embrace music and dance... As there is always more than one motional center in a given black African dance, so there is also in the playing of musical instruments. The musician does not only produce



sounds but moves his hands, fingers, and even head, shoulders, or legs, in certain coordinated patterns during the process of musical production." (Kubik, 1981:92).

At the seances I attended, these sonic movement patterns took the form of dancing, clapping and drumming. The basic metrical patterns of songs are expressed audibly by handclaps which are supplemented by drum-rhythm patterns and by the rhythm of the diviner's dance which is made audible by the use of ankle shakers (rattles) (*amafahlawana*=Zulu) which are attached to both legs.

The drum accompaniment always reinforces the basic metrical pattern defined by handclaps i.e. providing accented drum beats which coincide with the handclaps. The basic metrical pattern is thus supplemented by the drummer who merely subdivides the main beats either equally e.g. or unequally .

I encountered five different drum rhythm patterns which were used in the seances I attended e.g.



ALL five of these drum patterns were used with almost equal consistency and it would seem that no songs have a specified drum rhythm accompaniment. It appears that drummers are free to select a rhythmic pattern from one of the five patterns mentioned above. This is corroborated by the fact that a song which is repeated either later in the seance or at another event, is often accompanied by a different drum rhythm pattern e.g. the song *He 'mfazi wa* (Fig.2, p.255) was initially performed with the drum rhythm pattern , its repeat however, (Fig.12, p.271) short while later at the same event, was accompanied by the  pattern. There is some evidence which would seem to indicate that in fact, some (if not all) songs may indeed have a specified drum rhythm accompaniment: on a few occasions I witnessed a diviner criticizing and correcting the drummer's performance; on one occasion the diviner actually took over the drumming herself, and on yet another occasion, the song was repeatedly halted due to incorrect drumming.

It may have been, however, that on both these occasions the diviner herself simply wished for a specific rhythm accompaniment to be played.

As there is some ambiguity in this matter, I have decided to leave it open for further investigation.

Dancing

The diviner's dance (*umxhentso*) provided additional sonic movement patterns made audible by the use of *amafahlawana* tied to both legs. The *amafahlawana* used by my informants are constructed from bottle tops which have been bent inwards so as to form a small capsule which contained small beads or stones (see Plate no.24, p.366).

A number of these capsules are fastened to a piece of material which can be strapped to the lower leg, just above the ankle. In dancing, the *amafahlawana* create a shaker effect, the rhythms of which either correspond to the drum rhythm patterns or supplement these patterns, occasionally resulting in a polyrhythmic combination i.e. a cross rhythmic alignment of some audible drum and ankle rattle patterns.


Hansen also denotes the use of ankle rattles by diviners in a rural context. Her description demonstrates some significant differences in method of construction as well as materials used, in comparison to the *amafahlawana* used at the seances I attended. She states that ... "Novices usually wear thick layers of reeds round the lower part of the calves; these rattle and produce a rhythmic sound pattern as the novice dances. Diviners usually wear anklets of beads, which give off a slightly softer but no less audible sound. ALL anklets are referred to as *iinkaca* (sing. *inkaca*)" (Hansen, 1981:576).

Kirby notes that the Zulu use two kinds of ankle shakers (rattles) both called *amafohlwane* which may be related to the *amafahlawana* used by my informants. He describes these ankle rattles as follows: "Among the Zulu the ankle-rattles are of two kinds, both being called *amafohlwane*. The first of these consists of a number of neat little boxes woven from *ilala* (*Hyphrene ventricosa*) palm, and containing a few small stones, which are fastened to a fibre cord, and tied round the ankles of the dancer... The second type, which is often called *umfece*, because of the material from which it is made, consists of a number cocoons of the moth *Argema mimosae* (similar to the cocoons used by the Chwana) which breeds on the wattle of thorn trees of Natal, containing stones, bunched together on a base of plaited fibre, with strings attached for securing the instrument to the dancer's legs." (Kirby, 1968:5-6).

It would appear, from Kirby's description of the two kinds of *amafohlwane*, that the second kind i.e. the *umfece*, corresponds more closely to that of the *amafahlawana* used by my informants, than does the first kind. It is possible, therefore, that the *amafahlawana* are a close cognate of the *umfece* used by the Zulu in a rural context.

Formal Aspects

The music performed at the four seances discussed in this study is indicative of the cyclic form of Nguni music i.e. each song consists of a repetitive cycle of fixed duration. The cyclic length of songs varies and is determined by its internal structure.

The music chosen for analysis reveals that songs having a cyclic length of 8, 12, 14, 16, 20 or 24 beats (e.g. ) were used to varying degrees as the following table shows:

Number of songs	1	6	1	19	1	2
Cyclic length	8	12	14	16	20	24

This clearly indicates that songs having a cyclic length of 16 beats are the most common type performed at the seances which I attended.

The overall duration of a single song (i.e. the total number of song cycles performed) appears to be determined by 3 main factors:

1. the decision by the soloist to end the song;
2. if the song accompanies a ritual, then the time taken for the satisfactory enactment of the ritual determines the overall duration of the song e.g. the performance of the song *Angulale kunenyoka* (see Fig.12, p.271) at the ritual killing in case study no.2; and
3. a song performed in the context of a communal *umxhentso* may be interrupted by a diviner wishing to make a statement or, who is unhappy with the standard of musical performance and wishes to rectify the matter e.g. the numerous breaks in the song *Masiye 'Mbo* caused by both Gogo Nomayeza and Gogo Magwasa in case study no.1 (see Video Extract no.1, and ref.pp.168-169).

In view of these factors, it is found that the overall number of cycles differs markedly from song to song e.g. the song *Salalele ekhaya* (see Fig.7, p.264) which was Gogo Magwasa's final *-xhentsa*, performed after her *-vumisa* (which left her exhausted), consisted of only 10 cycles; in

comparison with the ritual song of Gogo Morwadi's marriage ceremony which lasted approximately 20 minutes and consisted of approximately 170 cycles (see Fig.12, p.271 and Video Extract no.5).

Aspects of Structure

Structurally, all the music selected for analysis in this study (except the song *Imini yezana kuwe*, see Fig.5, p.259) conformed to the structural principles of Nguni music as put forward by Hansen and Rycroft.⁴

The analysis of the music performed therefore, at the seances I attended, revealed the following specific details regarding their structure:

1. The number of complementary phrases within a single strophe (cycle) varied from 1 to 4. The following table demonstrates the degree to which these various combinations are used:

number of phrase pairs:	1	2	3	4
<hr/>				
number of songs	: 10	27	1	1
<hr/>				

This clearly indicates that songs which consist of two pairs of complementary phrases are significantly more common, particularly in comparison to the more complex song structure comprising 3 or 4 pairs of complementary phrases (even these, however, are performed in a simple call and response type manner with little or no overlap, e.g. the song *Masiye' Mbo* (see Video Extract no.)).

2. In approximately half of the songs that consist of a single pair of complimentary phrases, both the solo and chorus carry the same text while the other half carry different texts between the solo and chorus. Of the songs that have two pairs of complementary phrases,

however, approximately two-thirds carry differing texts between the solo and the chorus phrases. Whereas the chorus phrase almost always remains fixed, both melodically and textually, throughout the song, the solo may undergo variation though this is generally of a slight nature (e.g. textual variation: Fig.7, p.264, *Salale ekhaya* or melodic variation: Fig.11, p.269, *Sabingelela*).

3. According to Rycroft and Hansen, Nguni divination music is usually characterized by its extensive use of variation and improvisation resulting in a highly complex musical structure which utilizes the concept of overlapping to its ultimate degree. Although overlapping between solo and chorus does occur in the majority of songs performed at the seances I attended, the degree of overlap is generally slight e.g. the solo re-enters on the last beat or pulse of the chorus. The following figures demonstrate the degree to which songs were performed with complementary phrases having no-overlap, single ended overlap and double ended overlap:

no-overlap	=	9 songs
single-ended overlap	=	20 songs
double-ended overlap	=	11 songs

Single-ended overlap is clearly the most common structure in the music of the seances which I attended, constituting approximately half of the total number of songs performed, while songs performed with no-overlap almost equal the amount of songs which have double-ended overlap.

As mentioned earlier, the structure of a song is also affected in the event of a diviner leaving the room during her performance. Since diviners usually act as lead singers in song performances, their temporary absence from the rest of the performing group breaks the interaction of solo and chorus phrases for the period of their absence and the entire song then becomes a chorus, with solo phrases being absent, although the clapped and drummed rhythms are retained.

An unusual song structure is found in the song *Imini ye zana kuwe* (Fig.5, p.259 and tape extract no.5). I only heard this song performed once in the context of an *intlombe*. I had, however, heard it being performed on a previous occasion at an *umguyo* (boys initiation ceremony into manhood). The song has a homophonic structure as opposed to the typical antiphonal structure of Nguni music, and consists of a succession of chorus phrases only (i.e. there is no *realsolo*). The melodic contour of each of its 4 phrases is harmonized by other voices all moving parallel to the main melody resulting in 'block' chordal progressions throughout the entire cycle.

The reason for this song's unusual structure became apparent when I subsequently learned that it was in fact one of three church songs performed at the *iintlombe* that I attended. It clearly demonstrates the homophonic song structure typical of church choral music in the townships. Its performance within the context of a diviner's seance may be due to the fact that many of my diviner informants had themselves attended church at one time or another (some of whom continue to attend church regularly) and therefore the intrusion of church songs at a diviner's seance is perhaps understandably inevitable. The text of this song has biblical connotations although I was not told exactly what it refers to:

: *Imini ye zana kuwe*
: (The day is coming)

Patterns of Melody, Harmony and Tonality

With the exception of the melodies of the divination songs cited earlier which have 'church' associations (see the song *Imini ye zana kuwe*, Fig.5, p.259 and Tape Extract no.5) and the songs *Sabingelela* (Fig.11, p.269; tape extract no.11) and *Salale ekhaya* (Fig.6, p.264; tape extract no.7) which are hexatonic, and all the songs recorded by me stress a pentatonic tonality, the melodies being based on a penta mode represented in Figure (d) (p.241). Furthermore, they all have descending contours.

Exceptions are the aforementioned songs, which are acknowledged as 'borrowings' from 'church choruses', and which are set in a heptatonic scale (e.g. *Imini ye zana kuwe*, Fig.5, p.259). The latter is not distinguishable from the western seven-note diatonic scale, and in fact, the harmonization of these melodies suggests the cadential progression of 'classical' western music: I - IV - V. Although the form and structure of these two songs are typically Nguni (being cyclic with internal structures of complementary pairs of 'solo' and chorus phrases), the melodies themselves, being heptatonic, are not. However, they are harmonized '...in the traditional manner, by the song leader 'holding' the main melody, and the other voices singing in parallel movement (Hansen 1981:579). Similarly, similar patterns of harmonizing and tonality in divination music are reported by Hansen in her discussion and analysis of Xhosa divination songs; she cites one song in particular, the words of which have been borrowed from a Bhengu church hymn, and she notes that the song '...is

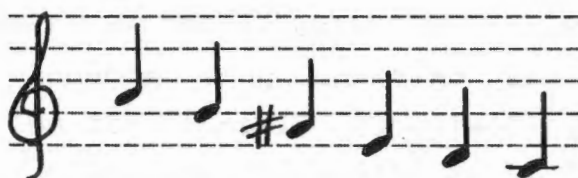
peculiar to the seances of Mfengu and Bhaca diviners' (ibid). (See transcription in Hansen 1981:579).

Hansen's findings (which are based on a comparative analysis of choral songs and bow songs, all of which demonstrate the same tonality), indicate that Xhosa music (in particular the older traditions) is hexatonic in tonality although many Xhosa songs she collected, utilize only 5 notes of the mode, which stresses a penta tonality.

Comparative analysis of Xhosa instrumental bow songs and choral songs has shown that there is not only a close relationship between the fixed modes or scales produced on the bow², but that there is also a close relationship between the tonal and harmonic systems of music that is played with the fixed scale of the music that is sung (ibid: p.699ff).

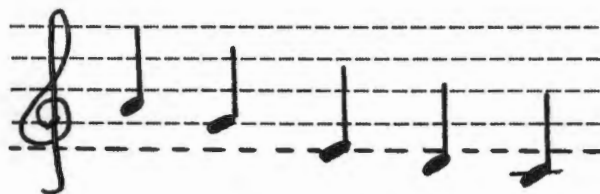
This hexa mode/scale comprises a descending sequence of six tones, which Hansen represents as:

Fig.(c)



In a number of songs in her collected recordings, '...one of the thirds tends to be absent (usually the F sharp), giving the appearance of a pentatonic tonality' (ibid:666).

Fig.(d)



The scales in my collection of divination songs clearly resemble the above penta-scale, which Hansen has identified as a 'hexa-based, penta scale'. Although this may be the case in practically all of the songs in my own collection, there is no evidence in any of them that they are indeed hexa-based.

Rycroft provides evidence of hexa tonality of older Zulu music, (which differs from that of Hansen's Xhosa music) and evidence of Swazi penta music. He states the following: "In ten recorded bow-songs by Zulu Buthelezi women in which the braced gourd-resonated *umakhweyana* is used, the fundamental notes yielded by the bow could be transposed as D, E, and F. Tones employed in the vocal line consist of no more than these same three notes (or their octaves) plus A, B, and C, which are fifths (i.e. third harmonics) above these. The middle bow note, E, usually serves as tonal centre. Here we have a hexa mode with two semitone intervals." (Rycroft, 1971:221). Rycroft also cites the following example of Swazi penta music, which he derives from a Swazi women's song entitled "*Iezontaba*", "yonder mountains". "The structurally important notes are A, G, D, and low A. If these are transposed as D, C, G, and low D, ...the passing notes (transposable as A flat and E flat) can then be seen to lie a semitone above G and D, respectively. This pentatonic series seems to resemble precisely the "exceptional Japanese pentatonic" pattern referred by Hornbostel." (ibid:229).

For these reasons, I prefer to state that my collected songs are set in a penta mode which is virtually identical with the 'modified' hexa mode denoted by Hansen, but without attributing this mode to any particular cultural group's music. Thus I leave the matter open to further investigation.

Harmonization within the songs is minimal (with the exception of the neo-traditional church songs) and is to some degree, based on what Hansen has called 'root' relations, i.e. singers harmonize the notes of a melodic phrase by selecting *izihlobo* ('friendly') tones which 'go with' and are 'equivalent to' the notes in the melodic phrase.⁴

Hansen's very detailed explanation of the hexa scale and its harmonization which is based on emic evaluations provided by her Xhosa informants over a long period of time, is as follows:

"The melodies of Xhosa songs may employ four, five or six tones, but they are all hexa-based i.e. set in a hexa-tonic mode with one semitone interval. This may be conveniently represented in transposition as a decending sequence: A - G - F sharp - E - D - C - (A). This mode is based on two 'roots' - which I prefer to call 'tonic' and 'counter-tonic' - a whole tone apart (C and D) plus the thirds and fifths above them. In quite a number of songs one of the thirds is absent, giving the appearance of pentatonic tonality. When I sang the lowest tone for my informants (e.g. C), all of them described it as the 'at home' tone (*ekhaya*). The

tone immediately above it (i.e. D) was the 'side' or 'right house' tone (-*nene*), which 'held up' *ekhaya*..... The sixth and fifth tones of the 'formula' are primary *izihlobo* ('friends'), i.e. tones which are located a fifth above -*nene* and *ekhaya*. *Izihlobo* tones (fr. *isihlobo* = a friend, an 'intimate') are those which singers select when harmonizing a song melody (held in song-leader and main chorus parts). They are, to use Blacking's terminology, which is appropriate here, 'harmonically equivalent' tones, but in selecting them, singers choose tones from the same root triad as the original melody note" (Hansen, 1985:78).

Hansen's analysis of the chord progressions underlying Xhosa melodies (realised in the harmonization of the tones of melodies) showed that 'melodies are harmony-based'...they arise from chordal progressions which the melody notes, and other sung notes which accompany them, produce in chorus improvisations. The following Figure (e) demonstrates a Xhosa melody and 'root'-related harmonization, taken from Hansen's study (Categories of Xhosa Music 1952: p.42 - *Hini ndod emnyama*):

Fig. (e):

O hi- ni ndod emnyama... oh.
Xayake....

D - C - - D - - - C - - - D - C - - D

Root progression sequence of strophe

As this figure demonstrates, the harmonization of melody notes results in a progression of 'chords or harmonies comprising tones which are related to one another by root (i.e. they belong to the same 'triad' family). The tones lie within the limits of a hexa scale, and the most important tones identified by Hansen on the basis of their ethnic evaluation - as *ekhaya* and *nene* ('tonic' C and 'countertonic' D in the scale), which are also the fundamentals of the 'chords' they generate.

As such, these two roots and the 'chords' they carry provide the harmonic foundations of Xhosa hexa-based music. They are 'pillars' of tonality, above which Xhosa melodies fluctuate (cf Hansen, 1981:670).

The following example (an extract from the song *Salale ekhaya*, Fig.7, p.264) a song recorded by me, clearly demonstrates that the application of the same harmonic principles (i.e. harmonization based on 'root' relationships as in the previous example of Hansen's) appears to be used, to some extent, by diviners in the black townships of Cape Town. (This is also demonstrated to some degree in Fig.6, p.262-263; Fig.9, p.267 and Fig.11, p.269).

Fig.(f): *Salalele-ekhaya*

The figure displays a musical score for the song 'Salalele-ekhaya'. It consists of two staves of melody and a chord progression below. The melody is written in a hexa scale, with notes corresponding to the syllables: O, sa, la, ni, O, sa, la, le, e, kha, ya. The chord progression below the staves is: D - - - - D - - D - - C - D - C - -.

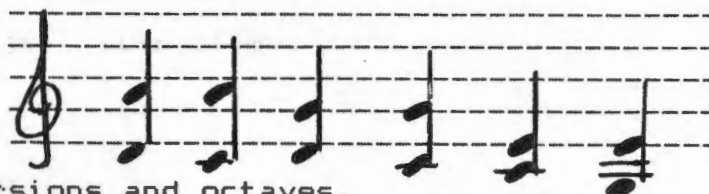
music where she makes reference to the harmonic use of intervals of a second: "Melodies are harmony-based, in that they are capable of being harmonized by any notes - but these must be within the mode on which the melody is based. Because singers are concerned with the 'pattern' of the melody; they often sing tone combinations which clash to western ears, e.g. the 'major' seconds in figure MH2:690. (Hansen 1981:684).

Other reasons which may explain such tonal combinations are:

- a. pitch realization is relative and not absolute (a prominent feature of African vocal musical performance), and the 'seconds' are not perceived by singers as being in any way 'dissonant'; and
- b. given the fact that my diviner informants frequently corrected and even strongly reprimanded singers for singing incorrectly, it may be that such combinations occurred because the singers - representing ethnically diverse groups - are not familiar with the songs, or did not know the music. Thus these combinations occurred at random, and may have been unintentional (see transcription Fig.7, p.264, on the 'off beat' of the 4th last beat in the 1st cycle: D and E).

Thus, although the principle of 'harmonic equivalence' operates in this music - as it does in all African music examined so far - the selection of tones is not based entirely on root relations. Singers will instead select certain other tones of the scale, for harmonizing and the chordings which most commonly occur are (not including the *hlehl*a and the church songs):

Fig (g):



and their inversions and octaves.

Examples of these chordal progressions are clearly evident in the following songs:

- Fig.1: *Bingelele* (p.252)
- Fig.6: *Audinamama* (p.262)
- Fig.7: *Salale ekhaya* (p.264)
- Fig.9: *Ndilamlalenibo* (p.269)

It is not possible to come to any definite conclusions concerning this method of harmonization; one is tempted to think that it might represent the vestiges of an older tradition for Xhosa harmonization. There is, however, another possibility i.e. the songs are introduced by Siswati-speaking diviners, who draw on non-Xhosa songs for their seances and because a considerable amount of Swazi music is penta-based, it is possible that the penta tonality could be explained by this. (The *hlehla* songs are an exception since they are reputedly of Ndaui origin, and so might be expected to show features which are atypical of Xhosa and other Nguni music.

The system of selecting other notes of the scale for harmonic combinations, is comparable with the system which operates in Venda pentatonic music. Blacking gives an illustration of harmonically acceptable chordings which he identified in Venda penta music, in his study of Venda Children's songs: (1967:168).

Since there is not much evidence on current musical practices among the Swazi, it is not possible to come to any conclusions (however tentative) about the tonal system represented by these songs, other than to state that the system is a penta system.

Note:


- 1 'isi' is a Zulu-Xhosa prefix, thus the Ndaui prefix may well be different.
- 2 See 'Genre Study V: *nthano* (chante fables) - a tradition of community oriented literature incorporating song', in Malawian Music: A Framework for Analysis, Gerhard Kubik, assisted by Moya Aliya Malamusi, Lydia Malamusi and Donald Kachamba, jointly published by The Centre for Social Research, University of Malawi, Zomba, and the Department of Fine and Performing Arts, Chancellor's College, University of Malawi, 1987:55-70.
- 3 D Dargie's transcriptions of Xhosa bow songs demonstrates the use of modified staff notation with the inclusion of vertical pulse lines (as used by Kubik). I personally find the scores very difficult to read; one has often to estimate the exact place in the music where certain sung notes occur, because the dots occur either on the pulse lines, or somewhere between them and no durational values are indicated. (See Ex. in Dargie:1988).
- 4 For the sake of clarity, I will briefly summarise the basic structural aspects of Nguni music as follows:
 "Within each strophe there is at least one pair of complementary phrases comprising solo plus chorus, these being either consecutive or overlapping, but essentially having non-simultaneous entry points. The chorus phrases, sung by a song leader or *umhlabeleli*, take a higher pitch register than the solo phrases. In most cases, these remain unchanged in the repetitions, while the solo phrases are subject to improvisation and are frequently varied. The song leader may introduce new words (or vocables) into the solo phrase, which bring about changes in its melody. The chorus phrase carries the identifying part of the song."
 "...The small amount of overlap (start of the solo phrase near the end of the chorus phrase) has been termed 'single ended overlap' by Rycroft (ibid.90). More extensive overlapping occurs through the interpolation of variations and additional phrases by the song leader and individual singers at certain points in the execution of the strophe, so that 'the start and end-points of phrases are moved, in relation

to their original position in the strophe' (ibid.92). In such cases, the solo phrases may 'commence halfway through a chorus phrase, and end halfway through the following chorus phrase so that the phrases are completely interlinked' (ibid.93)." (Hansen, *The Music of the Xhosa speaking people*, p.616-618). This type of overlapping is called 'double-ended overlap' by Rycroft.

- Hansen regards 'scale' and 'mode' as being synonymous '...when referring to the limited number of different notes or recurrent pitches in a given musical performance...' (1981:665).
- Blacking first identified this principle in Venda music (ref. *S.A. Music Encyclopaedia* Vol.2, 1982), and Hansen provides ample evidence of how this principle operates in Xhosa music (*Categories of Xhosa Music*, 1982).


Figure : 1

Title : Bingelela nonke (We greet everyone)


Cycle length : 32 or 16 x 

Pitch : present C¹ = original B^b

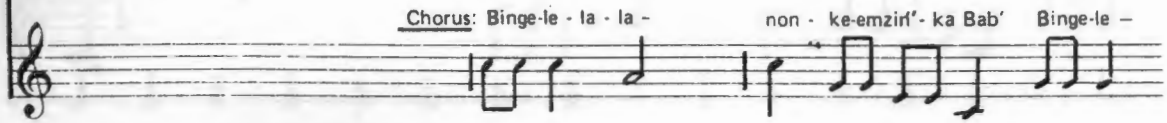
Scale : pentatonic

Tempo :  = 168 M.M.

Solo : Bin-ge -le - la non-ke laph'emzin'ka ba - ba Ye



Chorus: Binge-le - la - la - non - ke-emzin' - ka Bab' Binge-le -



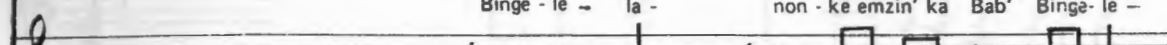
Hand claps :



Bin -ge -le - la nonke laph'emzin'ka ba-ba



Binge - le - la - non - ke emzin' ka Bab' Binge - le -




la.



(Solo silent.)



Binge - le - la - non - ke emzin' ka Bab' Binge - le



la.



Drums:

R.H.




L.H.



Leg rattles: L.L.

R.L.



Vocal effects:



Yeyi ! Yeyi ! Yeyi ! Yeyi ! Yeyi ! Yeyi ! Yeyi ! Yeyi !

Binge - le - la nonke laph'emzin'ka ba - ba

Ye Bin-ge le - la

Binge - le - la

non - ke emzin' ka Bab' Binge-le

la.

non-ke laph'emzin' ka ba - ba

Bin - ge - le - la

non - ke em - zin' ka bab' Bin - ge - le -

(Solo Silent)

Binge - le - la

non - ke em - zin' ka bab' Binge - le -

la.

Chorus only:

Bin - ge - le - la

non - ke zin'ka bab' Bin - ge - le -

la.

Bin - ge - le - la

non - ke zin'ka bab' Bin - ge - le -

la.

(Solo re-enters)

Sa -

non - ke zin'k bab' Binge - le -

la.

Bin - ge - le - la nonke laph'emzin - ka ba - ba

Binge - le -

Bin - ge - le - la

non - ke zin - ka bab' Binge - le -

la.

Small group provides chorus harmonization:

(Chorus) Binge - le - la non - ke zin' ka bab' Binge - le -

(Chorus) Bin ge - le -

(Chorus) non - ke zin' ka bab' Binge - le -


(Chorus) non - ke zin' ka bab' Binge le -

Text : Bingelela nonke laph' emzinka baba.


(We greet everyone in my fathers house)

Figure : 2

Title : He 'mfazi wam. (My wife)

Cycle length : 32 or 16 x Pitch : present C¹ = original E¹

Scale : pentatonic

Tempo :  = 156 M.M.

Solo : He 'mfa-zi wa -- mi

Chorus : Angula -- le 'mzini- ngi-ye sab' angula -- le 'mzini kunyo-

Hand claps: 

He 'mfa-zi wam He 'mfa-zi wami

ka - a. Angula -- le 'mzini- ngi-ye sab' angula -- le 'mzini kunyo

R.H. 

Drums : L.H. 

Melodic variant in solo 1 : He 'mfa-zi wami




Text : Angulale emzini ngiyesaba , angulale emzini kunenyoka, he 'mfazi wam.

(My wife does not sleep in the house of a snake, she runs from it.)

Figure: 3

256

Title: Bingelela Gogo (We greet you 'Gogo')

Cycle length: (28) or 14 x 

Pitch: present C¹ = original B[♭]

Scale: 4 note penta based.



















Tempo:  = 162 M.M.

Solo: Bin - ge - le - la Go - go

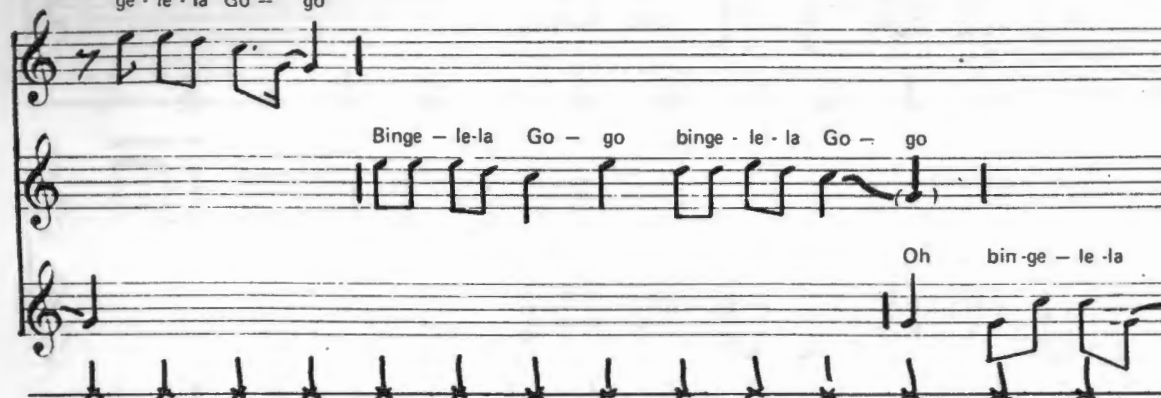


Chorus: Binge - le - la Go - go binge - le - la Go - go

Oh bin - ge - le - la

Hand claps:                  

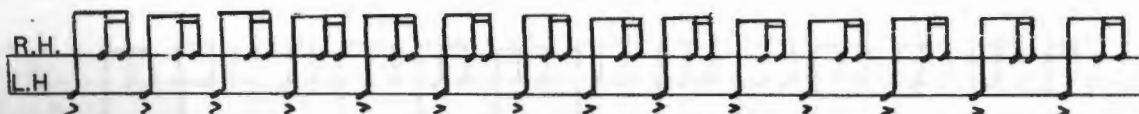
ge - le - la Go - go



Binge - le - la Go - go binge - le - la Go - go

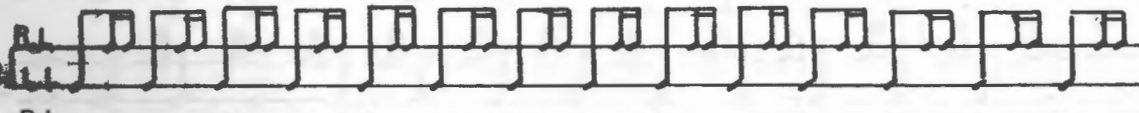
Oh bin - ge - le - la

Drums:



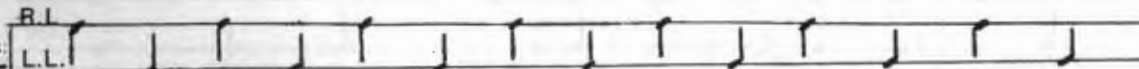
R.H.
L.H.

Leg rattles:



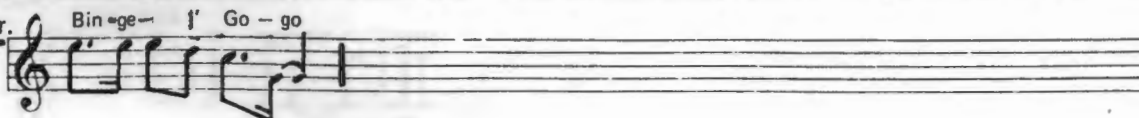
R.L.
L.L.

Leg rattles:



R.L.
L.L.

Solo Var.



Bin - ge - la Go - go

Text: Bingelela Gogo
(We greet you 'Gogo')

Title : Bingelela ngonyama (We greet the lion)

Cycle length : ④ or 14 x ♩ .

Pitch : present $C^1 = \text{original } A^1$

Scale : Pentatonic

Tempo : initially : $\text{♩} = 156 \text{ M.M.}$ then accelerated to 186 M.M.

Chorus . O bin - ge - le — la ngon — yam' li - ha — wu la' ngekhazo

Hand claps : * * * * *

Solo : O bing - le - la 'ngonyam' la — wu — la

O bin - ge - le — la ngon — yam' li - ha — wu la' ngekhazo

bin - ge - le — la ngonyam' li - ha — wu — la

O bin - ge - le — la ngon — yam' li - ha — wu la' ngekhazo

Drums : R.H. L.H.

Leg rattles : R.L. L.L.

Leg rattles : R.L.

Variations : Solo bing - le - la ngonyam' li - ha - wu la'

The musical score is written on multiple staves. The top section shows the Chorus and Hand claps. Below that is the Solo section with vocal lines and claps. The bottom section shows the Drums and Leg rattles. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Chorus variations performed by a solo diviner in the back yard :

O bing-e - le - la ngonyama ha - wu la i - tho - ngo .

bin - ge - le - la haw' la i - tho - ngo :

O bin - ge - le - la' ngonyam' li - hawu la ngekha - zo

bingele - la haw' la i - tho - ngo

binge - le - la ngonyam' li - haw' la ngekha - zo

Further solo variations :

O bin - ge - lel' ngo - nyama' haw' la

O bin - ge - lel' ngo - nyama haw' la

bin - ge - lel' ngonyama - haw' la

Text : Bingelela ngonyama ihawu lam ekhazo

(I thank you for my beautiful lion shield)


Figure : 5

Title : Le mini ye zana kuwe (The day is coming to you)

Cycle length : 72 or 24 x 

Pitch : present C¹ = original G¹

Scale : 6 note hepta based

Tempo :  = 162 M.M

Solo & Chorus1: Le-mi - ni ye - za-na - k'we

1

Chorus 2: Ye - za-na - k'we

Hand claps : Le-mi - ni ye - za-na - k'we

Le-mi - ni ye - za-na - k'we

Ye - za-na - k'we

Le-mi - ni ye - za-na - k'we

Ye - za-na - k'we

na - ku - we na - ku - we

na - ku - we na - ku - we

Drums: R.H. L.H.

Leg rattles: R.L. L.L.

whistle :



Le - mi - ni ye - za - na - k'we

Le - mi - ni ye - za - na - k'we

Le - mi - ni ye - za - na - k'we

na - ku - we - na - ku - we

Le - mi - ni ye - za - na k'we

Le - mi - ni ye - za - na k'we

Le - mi - ni ye - za-na k'we

ye - za-na k'we

na - ku - we na - ku - we

na - ku - we na - ku - we

Text : Le mini ye zana kuwe

(The day is coming to you)

Figure : 6


262

Title : Andi na mama (I have no mother.)

Cycle length : (48) or 16 x 

Pitch : present C¹ = original G¹

Scale : Pentatonic

Tempo :  = 168 MM

Solo : andi-na ma-ma The-tha yo - andi - na ta - ta

Chorus : The-tha yo -

Hand claps :        

ycho ye khaya The-tha yo - andi - na ma -

The-tha yo -

Ho - na-ma - ma The-tha yo - andi - na ta - ta

Ho - ma-ma The-tha yo -

the-tha yo - andi - na ta - ta The-tha yo - ye - ma - ma

the-tha yo - ho The-tha yo - ho -

Drums : 

VARIATIONS:

Solo : the - tha yo - ma - ma The - tha yo - ta - ta

Chorus : yo - ma - yo - ta - a

Chorus : the - tha yo - ma - ma The - tha yo - ta - ta


Text : Andina mama , andina tata , thetha yo.

(I have no mother or father with whom to speak.)

Figure : 7

Title : Salale ekhaya (Stay at home)

264

Cycle length : initially (36) but then shortened to (32) or 16 x 

Pitch : present C¹ = original A[•]

Scale : hexatonic

Tempo :  = 168 M.M.

Solo : Ho sa - la ni Ho sa - la - ni sa - la - le - le - e -

Hand claps.        

kha - ya O sa - la - le - e - khaya

Chorus : O sa - la - ni O sa - la - le e - kha - ya

O sa - la - ni O sa - lan' ngi - ye - muk'.

(interp.) O sa - la ni

O sa - la - ni O sa - la - le e - kha - ya

O sa - la - ni O sa la le e - kha - ya



O sa - la - ni O sa - lan' ngi - ye muk'

O sa - la - ni O sa - la - le e - kha - ya

O sa - la - ni O sa - la - le e - kha - ya

(Solo interpolation) : la' ngi - ye muk'

O sa - la - ni O sa - la - le e - kha - ya

R. H. L. H.


Drums:

Text : Salani salale ekhaya, salani salan' ngiyemuk.

(Stay , stay at home, stay, stay, I'm going away.)


Figure : 8

Title : uNintsikelelo ('uNonttsikelelo')


Cycle length : (24) or 8 x .

Pitch : present C¹ = original E¹

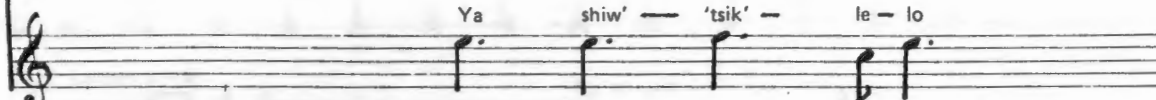
Scale : 4 note


Tempo :  = 132 M.M.

Solo : 'Non — tsik' — le — lo

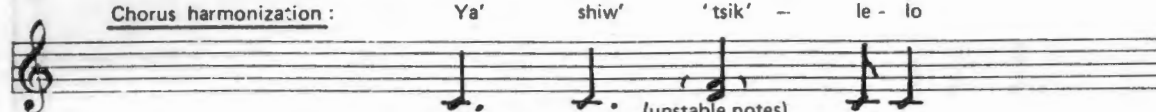


Ya shiw' — 'tsik' — le — lo




Hand claps : 

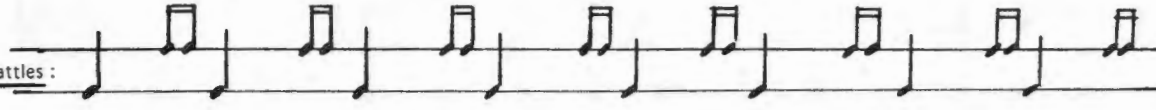
Chorus harmonization : Ya' shiw' 'tsik' — le — lo

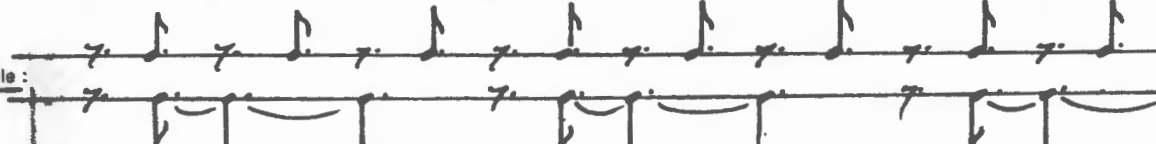


(unstable notes)



Drums : 

Leg rattles : 

Whistle : 

Text : uNonttsikelelo ya' shiwa' ntsikelelo.

(Nonttsikelelo is losing luck.)

Figure : 9

Title : Ndilamlalenibo (Help me)

267

Cycle length : (32) or 16 x 


Pitch : present C¹ = original B[°]

Scale : pentatonic

Tempo :  = 200 M.M.

Solo : Lam - la - le - ndiyathwa - sa lam - la - le - ni - bo lam - la - le - ni

Chorus : lam - la - le - ni - bo

Hand claps : 

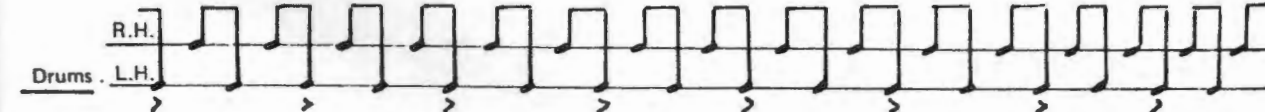
Lam - la - le - Ho - lam - la - le - ni - bo

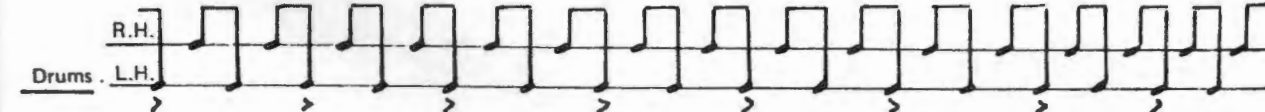
lam - la - le - ni - bo

Lam - la - le 'ndiyathwa - sa lam - la - le - ni - bo


(Solo interpolation) Hayi !! lam - la - le - ni - bo

(Solo silent) 'ndiya - thwa - sa lam - la - le - ni - bo

R.H. 

L.H. 


Solo re-enters : Lam - la - le - lam - la - le - ni - bo

Chorus : 

Text : Lamlalenibo sendiyathwasa


(Help me I'm going to 'thwasa')

Title : Waye camag' (We are blessing)

Cycle length : (24) or 12 x 

Pitch : present C¹ = original E¹

Scale : 3 note (Tetra tonic, possibly hexa based - inconclusive due to lack of harmonies).

Tempo .  = 120 M.M.

Solo : Wa — ye — ca — mag' Wa — ye — ca — ma — g'

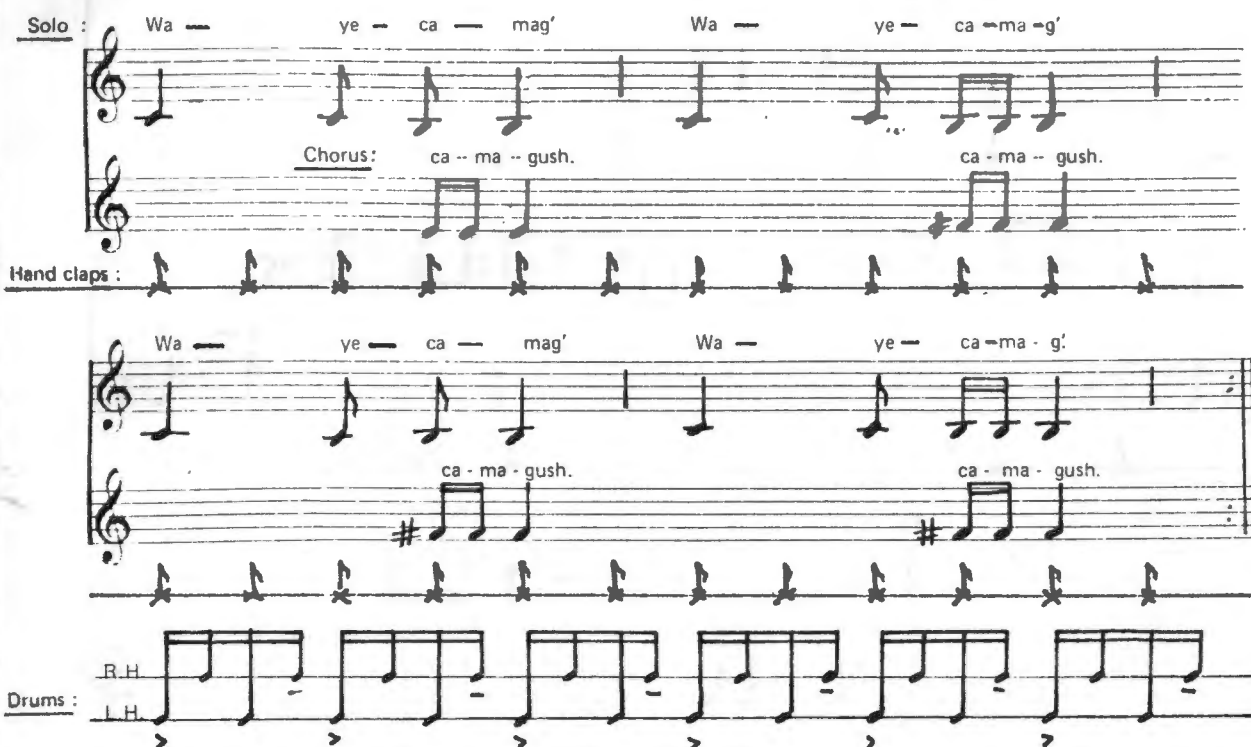
Chorus: ca — ma — gush. ca — ma — gush.

Hand claps :

Wa — ye — ca — mag' Wa — ye — ca — ma — g'

ca — ma — gush. ca — ma — gush.


Drums : R.H. L.H.



Text : Waye camagush.


(We are blessing)

Title : Sabingelela (We are greeting)

Cycle length : (24) or 8 x 

Pitch : present C¹ = original F¹

Scale : hexatonic

Tempo :  = 140 M.M.

Solo : Na - buya kwa - Ma - gwa - sa ma - Thu - nga - a O bin - ge - le - la - na

Chorus : Sa - bin - ge - le - la, Sa

Hand claps : 

Sa bin - ge - le - la nabu - ya kwa - Ma - gwa - sa ma - Thu - nga - a

bin - ge - le - la, Sa

O bingelela - na - a Sa

bin - ge - le - la Sa - bin - ge - le -

bin - ge - le - la - nabu - yakwa - Ma - gwa - sa ma - Thu - nga - a

Sa - bin - ge -

O bin - ge - le - la - na - a Sa

le - la Sa - bin - ge - le - la



The musical score is arranged in three systems. Each system consists of two vocal staves (treble and bass clef) and a drum staff below them. The lyrics are written above the vocal staves.

System 1:

Vocal 1: Bin - ge - le - la na - bu - ya kwa - Ma - gwa - sa ma - Thunga - a

Vocal 2: (Silent)

Drums: (Rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes)

System 2:

Vocal 1: O bin - ge - le - la - na - a Ho!

Vocal 2: bin - ge - le - la O bin - ge - le

Drums: (Rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes)

System 3:

Vocal 1: bin - ge - le - la - buya - kwa - Ma - gwa - sa ma - Thunga - a

Vocal 2: (Silent)

Drums: (Rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes)

System 4:

Vocal 1: O bin - ge - le - la - na - a Ho!

Vocal 2: bin - ge - le - la Sa - bin - ge - le -

Drums: (Rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes)


System 5:

Drums: R.H. (Right Hand) and L.H. (Left Hand) parts, showing a complex rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes.

Text : Sabingelela nabuya kwaMagwasa maThunga, sabingelela.


(We are celebrating the return to Magwasa and Thunga)

Title : He 'mfazi wam (My wife)

Cycle length : (32) or 16 x 


Pitch : present C¹ = original C¹

Scale : Pentatonic

Tempo :  = 150 M.M.

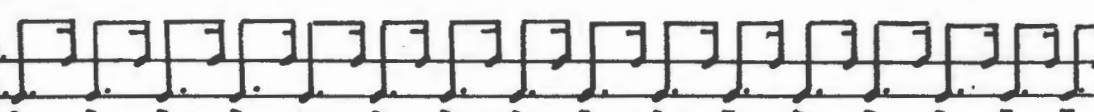
Solo : Angula - le' - 'zi - ni ngi - ye sab' An - gu - la - le 'zi - ni ku - nen - yok'

Chorus 2 : He 'mfa - zi wam He 'mfa - zi

Hand claps : 

Vari : Angula - le' - 'zi - ni ngi - ye - 'sab' An - gu - la - le zi - ni ku - nen - yok'

He 'mfa - zi wam

Drums : 

Text : Angulale emzini ngiyesaba, angulale emzini kumenyoka, he 'mfazi wam.

(My wife does not sleep in the house of a snake, she runs away.)

Figure 1. Hlehlá song 1

Title: Hlehlá song 1

Circle notes: $\sqrt{2} = 1.414$

First: original E^3 as original E^3

Scale: Octave tonic; possible (octave tonic)

Tempo: $\text{♩} = 55 \text{ M.M.}$

272



The -Hlehlá Songs



of the


isiNdau-speaking People

Text: Hlehlá song 1

(They have [something])


Title : Barhoyile (Bewitched)

273

Cycle length : (16) or 4 x 





Pitch : present C¹ = original E¹

Scale : (Tetra tonic; possibly penta based).

Tempo :  = 55 M.M.

Solo : Ba' — rhoy' — le ba — na — bam' — rhoy'l'

Chorus : Ba' — rhoy' — le ba — na — bam' rhoy'l'

Hand claps :    

Drum 1: R.H. L.H. (irregular rhythm)

Drum 2: R.H. L.H.

Variations in Chorus only :

Ba' — rhoy' — le ba — na — bam' — rhoy'l'

Ba — rhoy' — le ba — na bam' — rhoy' — le

ba — na — ba — m' — rhoy' le

Text : Barhoyile, Lompongo bana bam'rhoyile.

(They have bewitched Lompongo .)

Figure : 14 (hlehla song)


Title : Nda ja (precise meaning unknown)

274

Cycle length : (12) or 4 x 

Pitch : present C¹ = original C^{#1}

Scale : pentatonic

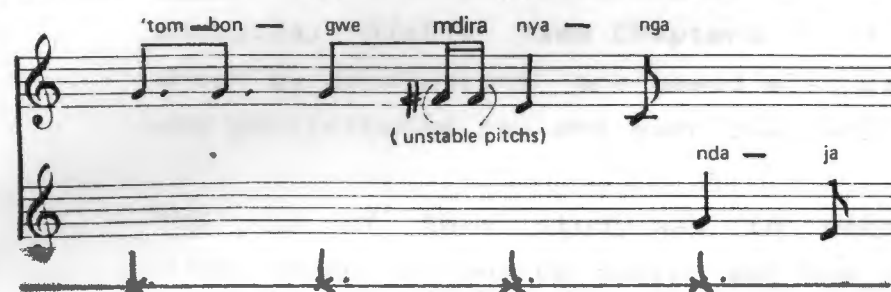
Tempo :  = 90 M.M.

Solo : 'tom — bon — gwe mdira nya — nga



Chorus : nda — ja

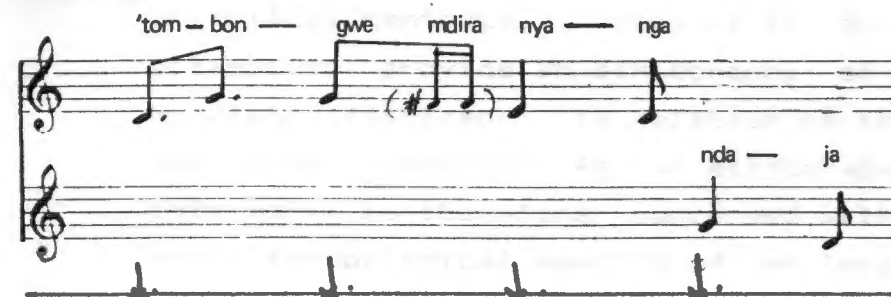
'tom — bon — gwe mdira nya — nga



(unstable pitches)

nda — ja

'tom — bon — gwe mdira nya — nga



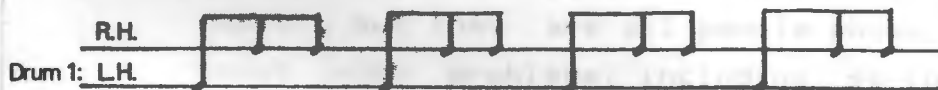
nda — ja

'tom — bon — gwe mdira nya — nga



nda — ja

R.H.



Drum 1: L.H.

R.H.



Drum 2: L.H.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This study is based upon a number of seance rituals, including four referred to by informants as *iintlombe*, and rituals of a more private nature and named according to the main action of the participants in the ritual e.g. -*femba*, *phengula*, -*hlehla* (see Chapters 2, 3 & 4). The data on which my conclusions are based also came from the diviners who participated in, and even dominated, these rituals.

The aim of this study was to assess some effects of urbanization on seance music and the techniques of diviners in ritual contexts. Central to my methodology was an attempt to provide an ethnography of seances in Langa and Guguletu (*iintlombe*) in relation to the purposes for which they were convened. As an ethnographic study of seances, this work is therefore concerned with ritual behaviour in the anthropological meaning of the term i.e. a SOCIAL ritual and that '...there is a general recognition of a morally correct right pattern that should be followed in any particular enactment and performance' (La Fontaine 1985:11).

The majority of people who consult diviners, may or may not attend seances (especially the large-scale *iintlombe* with music), but they are all people whose lives are frequently beset with problems, including serious, life-threatening ones: protracted illness, untimely death and other misfortunes. The prescriptive rituals which diviners hold

on behalf of clients, represent an attempt by them to respond strategically to such 'dark' and 'dirty' situations. My study was facilitated by the fact that I confined my research to the townships, and to a particular group of diviners who, although they operate as individual professional healers, occasionally commit themselves to a common seance (an *intlombe*, or a smaller-scale ritual). At the same time, my study was complicated by the fact that seances (particularly *iintlombe*) are commonly protracted affairs, and nocturnal events that usually continue well into the following day. This meant that I had to spend many hours in potentially dangerous areas of the townships, an aspect of my fieldwork which inevitably conditions my response to problematic situations which I frequently encountered (see Preface).

My study of seance rituals has shown that, although a seance represents a ritual which many people rely on for dealing with personal causes of misfortune, individual rituals may vary greatly from one performance to another, and some of them do NOT include music. (see Chapter 4, p. where this particular aspect is discussed in some detail).

A question which initially plagued me early on in fieldwork and after I had witnessed the actions of participants at several rituals, was about the type of activities that should be (or ought to be) a part of seances. The first large-scale seance I attended was convened at my request, and also sponsored by me in a desperate attempt to get my fieldwork under way by establishing contact with diviners. As the Preface shows, when I commenced research I brought to the field an academic knowledge of, and training in, Western

music, basic ethnomusicological training and some diverse experiences in performing music (through involvement in guitar music and certain African instrumental performance styles as well as some knowledge of African religion). I also brought with me a great deal of curiosity. I came away from that first seance with an awareness that such rituals do not have to take place in order to counteract the effects of personal misfortune, whether sent by angry ancestors, or brought about by evil agents.

Seances may be - and often are - convened solely to honour the ancestors and to 'respect' (-*hlonipha*) them. On the other hand, seances also take place when people are in trouble, in doubt and distress, and consult diviners accordingly. In such situations, a seance must be done. My informants' responses to my questions about the particular enactment and performance of a specific ritual, were invariably specific and to the point: it all depends on the purpose for which that ritual is performed, which in turn depends on the nature of the problem to be handled by the diviner. My informants did not express any notions about the types of activities that SHOULD go on in seance rituals. In fact, they did not seem to consider any such notions. However, by their ritual- and musical procedures, within specific seance contexts, they demonstrated that certain things DO happen, and are enacted according to the nature and function of the seance - what it is FOR. My findings indicate that the principle that governs (i) what actually happens in a seance, and WHY it happens and (ii) whether or not music is performed, is suitability. Many different kinds of things can happen in a seance. Certain things MUST take place and are done, and not just anything is

acceptable. Because of this and because there are several elements which always appear or occur in a seance, one may conclude that there is generally a notion that a seance has a fixed procedure, even though changes in ritual procedure may, and do, occur.

In view of this, it is not possible to derive a 'closed model' of rituals of diviners in Langa and Guguletu, based on a summarization of the findings of particular rituals witnessed and recorded by me. As I have shown in Chapter 4, p.209, seances are essentially rituals which aim at communion with the ancestors, but the reasons for which they are held, vary. Thus, seances are frameworks for different kinds of rituals and may or may not include music-making. Music is not prescriptive for all rituals of divining. My four Case Studies of *iintlombe* constitute the only examples of seances in which music-making was an essential part of the proceedings. Thus the purpose for which a ritual is held, will determine the use or non-use of music.

My study has shown that it is possible to identify several certain activities which always appear at a ritual:

Communication with the Ancestors. The method of communication will motivate the participants to act in certain ways, as will the purpose for which the seance is held. Methods of communication are:

- vumisa*, which may or may not involve music (pp.197ff);
- phahla*, a true act of veneration in which the ancestors are 'prayed to';

-*kuphahla* (Siswati), a ritual in which some form of a libation is offered to the ancestors, and, like the two aforementioned methods, may or may not include music;

-*hlehla*, is a special activity employed in rituals of exorcism which are referred to as rituals of -*femba* (to withdraw) in which evil is literally 'drawn out, or away from', an afflicted person;

-*phengula*, a Swazi method of divining, but it is directed towards the recovery of lost or stolen articles.

-*Vumisa*, -*phahla*, -*hlehla*, -*phengula* and -*femba* are all specific rituals of action which may occur in specific types of seances, and music is not necessarily a part of all these activities. In the townships of Langa and Guguletu, it is necessary to distinguish between 'musical' and 'non-musical' seances. The specific purpose for which a seance is held will determine the use or non-use of music.

All the seance rituals were examined as signifying examples of current divination methods in Langa and Guguletu. They constitute the mechanism by which I attempted an investigation of the music accompanying certain rituals. Since 'total and abrupt change in any aspect of culture is uncommon', it was necessary to make the investigation on a comparative basis. Thus my analysis of the musical activities and the meaning of their variation, is made with reference to long-established traditions of ritual and divining which have been documented in some detail in published and unpublished literature. My findings show that:

1. The musical content of seances is chosen by officiating diviners who attend the events. It is they who select the appropriate music. The presence of several diviners at a seance has been noted (cf. Chapter 3). In such circumstances, each diviner has the opportunity to present songs during the course of the seance. The fact that diviners interact a great deal in their profession and occasionally attend the same rituals, is probably a main reason why their choice of songs for seances is fairly uniform.

All my diviner informants appear to share a standard repertoire of songs, the texts of which are in Zulu, Xhosa and Siswati. The exceptions are the *-hlehla* songs, which are associated with exorcism rituals (*-femba*), and which are allegedly of Ndaui origin (being in the Ndaui language). These songs were exclusive to seances presided over by Gogo Morwadi and Gogo Magwasa. For these reasons, it is reasonable to conclude that the musical content of seances convened by my informants is fairly uniform. But they may not be representative of the musical content of seances convened by other diviners who practise in my research area (Langa and Guguletu). Their particular repertoires have yet to be investigated.

2. Regarding the action of devotees and participants at seances: they took place in private homes, but were not confined to one room only, as is commonly the case in rural areas (cf. Hansen 1981:563ff).
- Furthermore, all the participants were restricted to certain rooms in the house, according to their social

status, these rooms being areas of special activities during the seance event.

The bulk of the action took place in the lounge area where diviners either performed solo sessions of *umxhentso* and *-thokozisa* or communal *umxhentso* was performed (i.e. all the diviners danced together) with each diviner taking it in turns, in order of rank, to perform her *-thokozisa*. Musical activities are introduced by diviners, who enter at a later stage when the musical proceedings are under way (see Video Extract no.1). The entry of a diviner, in the case of solo sessions of *umxhentso* and divining, is usually preceded by the 'diviner's call' which serves to announce 'her' entry into the lounge area; successive entries occur in order of rank (see Video Extract no.2). If all the diviners entered the lounge area together, however, (i.e. in the case where communal *umxhentso* was to be performed) a special song was initiated to herald the event and here again the diviners enter in order of rank.

During a performance of *umxhentso* and divining, a diviner may leave the room and either go outside the house, or into an adjoining room, to continue with solo *umxhentso* and communication with the ancestors. On these excursions, the diviner will always be accompanied by a novice (or another diviner) who provides the chorus phrase of the song (continuing inside the house, see Fig.4, p.257, chorus variations) or the novice responds appropriately to the diviner's communication with the ancestors (*-thokozisa*) if the diviner chooses to do so.

This behaviour has a marked effect on the music-making as diviners act as lead singers in the antiphonally structured music, consequently their temporary absence from the rest of the group results in the (temporary) absence of solo phrases in the antiphonal songs, which then become choruses, accompanied by claps and drumming.

A fixed procedure in dancing is observed by diviners and spectator-participants. "Each of the diviners usually dances a 'solo' stint and only after these solo performers, may the other participants dance, if they so wish.

3. The size of the seance congregation in relation to the size of the main action area (the lounge) is an important factor in determining performance presentation. Seance congregations vary in size; in a 'big' seance, the total musical activity is theoretically open to all. In practise, however, only a limited number of people can dance at one time, because of the limited space available to them in the lounge area.

The presence of so many participants, limits musical activity and has an effect on both the quality of the music, and its volume of sound. The effects of large congregations engaging in musical activity in a confined area on musical structure and sound, has been itemized on p..., and may be briefly recapitulated here:

- a. musical structure is altered in that the Call and Response form of songs is temporarily dissolved when diviners depart from the lounge area;

- b. the song becomes a chorus, the sound increases in volume, with louder singing and hectic dancing and drumming;
- c. the performers break away from concerted actions and dance more individually, each person performing his/her own improvised dance steps and movements;
- d. the words of the songs are often replaced by vocables which may or may not be denotative;
- e. the musical association between spectator participants (as non-specialist performers) and the diviners (as musical specialists) is significant in seance activities, as it has a direct affect on the quality of the music itself, and whether or not it is performed satisfactorily. Most of the people who attend seances are not always the same people, and thus most of them are not familiar with all the songs introduced by the officiating diviners.

This explains why people as a rule do not know what to sing at a given ritual occasion. Contrary to Hansen's findings on Xhosa divination music which show that it is "one of the most rehearsed musics in the Xhosa musical tradition" (cf.p.217) (being performed mainly by 'highly trained devotees', my findings indicate that divination music is not performed so frequently by the same group of people (for reasons which are largely socio-economic). Consequently, seance congregations tend to be unfamiliar with many songs and so tend to sing unsatisfactorily to the extent that they are reprimanded by diviners for not singing well, or harmonizing correctly (see Video Transcription of Case Study no.2 in Appendix A, p.307). This was particularly evident in performances of *-hlehla* songs which are, in the language of their texts, their musical structure and possibly even tonality, atypical of Nguni music generally. Faulty singing also occurred in performances of Nguni language songs and in

such circumstances, a diviner would introduce a second song and even a third, which people were able to take up and sing probably because of its relative simplicity, its repetitiveness, and its familiar (penta) tonality.

My findings regarding the musicological aspects of songs are as follows:

- the form of the songs is cyclic, with antiphonally structured melodies shared between solo and chorus phrases;
- the tonality is pentatonic and may or may not derive from the hexatonic tonality of older traditions of Xhosa music. (It is possible that the penta tonality has more to do with Swazi penta music, than with the hexa-based tonality of Xhosa music);
- the vocal organization is not complex, comprising commonly two pairs of complimentary phrases of Solo and Chorus, or Solo and Chorus, and Chorus 2, with a two-fold temporal contrast between these vocal phrases in relation to the claps (which are supplemented by drum beats);
- antiphony, with single-ended overlap between Solo and Chorus phrases occurs most commonly.
- The harmonic embellishment of melodic phrases is minimal. This is an aspect of my recorded divination songs which distinguishes them from the divination songs collected by Hansen. Harmonization occurs commonly within the Chorus phrases, mainly as a result of Solo and Chorus overlapping, and attempts a harmonic enrichment of the phrase-pairs which make up a total musical pattern.

The additional interpolation of phrases by individuals (marked 'interp.' in the scores) occurs only rarely. Exceptions are the 'church' songs (Fig.5) which have become part of the diviners repertoire. The sporadic and sparse harmonization may be due to the congregation's non-familiarity with the songs. A notable aspect of my musical material is the absence of a rich polyphonic texture, which is so characteristic of the Xhosa music investigated by Hansen.

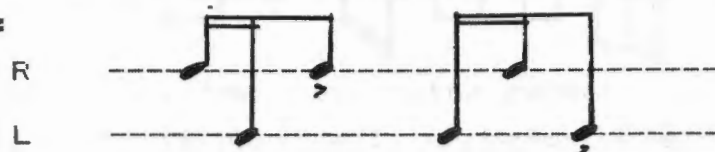
My findings of drum usage varies from Hansen's findings. Usually, two drums are used (Hansen reports that one drum is standard) although one seance I attended used five drums. The resonating cylinders are made from industrial metal drums, something not in common use among diviners who collaborated in Hansen's research and not reported by Kirby at all.

Drumming is performed by anyone who is able to execute the various rhythm patterns, including the diviners themselves. Drummers were mainly men, in contrast to Hansen's findings which indicate that female drummers are more common, and exclude the diviners themselves.

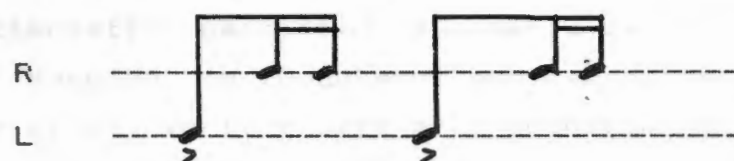
Drumming techniques also vary from Hansen's findings as do positions in which the drum is held or positioned during performance. The method of free-beating however, was noted by Hansen, and is a feature of the drumming techniques observed by me.

Regarding drum rhythm patterns, drum beats supplement handclaps which constitute the metrical framework of songs. I encountered four different drum rhythms which were used in the seances I attended of which two are identical with those

identified by Hansen in her Xhosa musical research. However, a contrasting feature is the specific striking action which involve right and left hands to produce the rhythmic patterns. For example; the rhythmic pattern noted by Hansen:

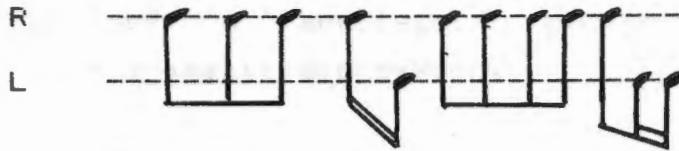


was performed with a regular alternation of R.L.R. hands whereas the rhythmic patterns recorded by me are always performed as an irregular sequence of right and left hands e.g.



If one has to retain this pattern for any length of time, and at a fast speed, there is a tendency to stiffen, and eventually seize up. I noticed that the drummers frequently lost speed when executing this pattern. My own attempts at drumming followed the striking action noted by Hansen and I found it far more comfortable and easier to retain a metronomic tempo. My informants preferred to follow the second procedure noted above, even though it induced muscular tension, and seemed to be unaware of any alternative technique. It is possible that the drummers I encountered were more familiar with the sound of the drum-rhythm patterns and how they should go, than they were with the co-ordinated motional patterns which are required to produce the patterns correctly. The drum rhythm patterns of the *hlehla* songs are unique, being frequent sequences of pulses in implied groupings of triple beats. The same

irregular alternation of right and left hands is a prominent feature of these songs, e.g.:



Speaking generally, the drum rhythm patterns are simple, but their production is physically uncomfortable, owing to the distribution of right and left hand strikes. No cross-rhythms occur between drum and clap patterns.

The characteristic *umxhentso* (diviner's dance) is basic to diviner's dancing in Guguletu and Langa and individual diviners exploit various ways of producing variants of the music's basic metre. The wearing of leg rattles (*amafahlawana*) explicitly defines the music's basic metre and rhythm. The *amafahlawana* encountered by me differed considerably from the ankle rattles (*iinkaca*) encountered by Hansen.

Amafahlawana are constructed from bottle tops and thus differ significantly from the *iinkaca* of Hansen's Xhosa diviners (cf. p.233-235). *Amafahlawana* appear to be cognate with the Zulu *umfece*, noted and documented by Kirby.

Singing is usually full-throated and 'open-voiced', aspects also noticed by Hansen. However, none of my informants employed *-ugqokola* singing style, nor did they recognise or identify the meaning of the word. But some of my informants occasionally employed a 'disguised voice' technique, although they did not describe it with special words and phrases. A common procedure is for a diviner to crouch on the floor, on the haunches, and to press the chin into the

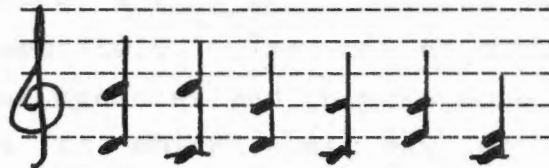
neck and sing in a small 'muted' voice, particularly evident in the *-hlehla* songs. The reason seems to be the presentation of a spectacular performance and the enhancement of dramatic expression.

Regarding other aspects of form and style, e.g. rhythm, tempo, melody, harmony and tonality, my findings indicate that:

- rhythm interest is centered on the alignment of vocal phrases in relation to claps and drum beats. In virtually all the songs (excluding the *-hlehla* songs) there is a subtle alignment of sung and clapped patterns. The cross rhythm which results, is equivalent with type 1 polyrhythm identified and discussed by Hansen (1981:730). None of these songs demonstrate the polyrhythm of multiple vocal rhythm patterns which characterizes so much of the music of the older Xhosa chiefdom clusters, investigated by Hansen (ibid);
 - the tempo of the songs varied between approximately 130-200 beats per minute (excluding the *-hlehla* songs which were much slower). A favourable tempo seemed to be at approximately 150-170 beats per minute. Songs were occasionally halted if the tempo was unsatisfactorily too low and then restarted at a faster tempo.
- Within one song, however, the tempo remains fairly constant although sometimes there is a noticeable drop in speed, possibly due to the strenuous drum playing technique. Songs do not have a fixed tempo and the

repetition of a song at the same, or another, seance (by the same or another diviner), may have a different tempo;

- the melodies of the songs are commonly harmonized by certain other notes in the penta scale. The principle of harmonic equivalence identified by Hansen in Xhosa music (and Blacking in Venda music) operates in these songs (-hlehla excluded) in that certain note-combinations occur, and not just any combination is acceptable. However, notes selected for harmonization, are not exclusively based on root-relationship, as identified by Hansen. In these songs, the penta melodies are harmonized by other notes in that scale. It is possible that the basic tendency to adhere to combinations of tones which are mostly, but not wholly, related by root to the notes of the main melody, e.g.



The above represents the vestiges of a tonal system that was identical with the hexa tonal system of the Xhosa. I have opted to remain inconclusive on this aspect of my research, which I hope to pursue later on in my career.

Given these facts, it is possible to identify the principle of tonality shift, which also operates in the music. With the exception of the hepta songs, tonality in the other songs centres round a 'tonic' tonality (comprising C root

and 'related' tones) and a 'counter tonic' tonality (comprising D and 'related' tones).

To this extent the songs conform with principles of 'harmonic equivalence' and shifting tonality in older hexatonic Xhosa music as identified by Hansen.

The seance music and practices of diviners working in Langa and Guguletu, appear to have been affected by processes of urbanization and the results thereof, in the following ways: Living in a potentially hostile environment in which disruptive forces of all kinds continually affect and regulate peoples' lives and in which the majority of people are socially deprived, has resulted in many adverse circumstances in which most individuals are likely to find themselves. These circumstances have to do with untimely death, with protracted illness, unsuccessful business ventures and many others, all of which have to be dealt with strategically and immediately. The work of diviners has to meet all sorts of contingencies and this is done by the live enactment of rituals in which music may or may not be prescriptive. Seances, especially the large kind of *intlombe*, take place infrequently and only when necessary; the reasons are mainly economical, since seances cost money in terms of a sacrificial beast and the food and drink required for those who are likely to attend the event. The clients of diviners are ethnically diverse, and many of them have lost, or are gradually losing, contact with some of their cultural traditions, especially their musical ones. Thus seance congregations are 'mixed' ones - they comprise people who, although they live in the same social

environment, come from different cultural backgrounds. The differences may not be great, but they are there.

These differences are especially evident in their musical repertoires, which most of them do not share. Consequently, they are unable to interact musically to the satisfaction of their traditional healers, who continually reprimand individuals for singing badly or incorrectly. It seems then, that effects of urbanization, of 'city living', has been a considerable loss of musical repertoire, especially as far as divination music is concerned. People are not familiar with the music, and they do not socialise sufficiently to become familiar with it. The result is that they are unable to sing the songs that have to be sung at certain seances.

All in all, my findings would seem to indicate that, given the prevailing trends, the performance of divination music will continue to be performed on an irregular basis. The incorporation of certain 'church' songs into the repertoire of divination music indicates a possible replacement of some of the 'lost' music. But whether or not this will actually come about, remains to be seen. Further research on this is needed. One thing is certain, however: texture and complex polyrhythmic harmony of Xhosa music which has been documented in detail by Hansen, is virtually absent in the music collected and analysed by me. If current trends continue, this particular style of music may well become a thing of the past in the townships.

Note:

- 1 Initiation: ritual, drama and secret knowledge across the world. Penguin Books, 1985.

APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTION OF VIDEO RECORDING OF INTLOMBE 2
(by Henry Jeane)

Diviner 1

Gogo Mahlabekuseni: (Quick to see the sickness)

Song 1:

Solo: *Sithokozisa abanikazi bekhaya*

Chorus: *Thokoza Magoma*

Thokozisa to Mtsila:

- : *Habe sosithokozisa manje*
(You make us feel well)
- : *Habe sosijabulisa manje*
(You make us happy now)
- : *Habe seyise kwami nje*
(You my father)
- : *Habe seyi nguDubulamanzi nje*
(You are shooting water)
- : *Habe seyi ntsizwa kaMbujisile nje*
: (You are a warrior of Mbujisile)
- : *Habe seyi nguGogo wami nje futhi*
(You are also my Gogo)
- : *Habe seku Monganeni kwamadoda nabafazi*
(You are at the meeting of men and woman)
- : *Habe seyi ntsizwa kasiBiya nje*
(You are the warrior of siBiya)
- : *Thetha kakhulu*
(Speak hard)

Gogo Mtsila:

- : *Thokoza mkhosi*
(Be happy my 'majesty' (respected one))
- : *Thokoza Ndedekazi*
- : *Thokoza bo*
(Be happy)
- : *Sijabule*
(We are happy)
- : *Wena ujabulisa ubaba wami* "
(You make my father happy)
- : *Asilali siyabonga*
(We are not sleeping we are praising)
- : *Wena ungwalisa ubabawakho*
(You praise your father (master))

Gogo Mahlabekufeni:

- : *Ewe sibonga amagama nezibongo*
(Yes we praise names and clan names)
- : *Thokozani bo Gogo*
(Feel well Gogo)
- : *Sidakela nenjabulo*
(We are thanking for happiness)

[- to Morwadi:]

- : *Eh, wabe nguMahlakathula*
- : *Eh, wabe seyise wami nje*

[She repeats as before]

[- to another diviner:]

- : *Wabe se nguMahlabekufeni*
- : *Wabe seyintsizwe yaseMaNtandeni nje*
- : *Wabe seyiyise wami*

: *Habe seyi Dublamanzi*
 : *Habe seyi ntsizwa kaMniso*
 : *Habe seyi nguGwazizingwe*
 : *Habe seyi nguMbimizane nje*

[She repeats as before]

Song 2:

Solo: *Thina sithokozisa abanikazi bekhaya*

Chorus: *Thokoza ngoma*

ithokozisa:

: *Habe sesidyapakela ukubaleka*
 (While we were turning to run)
 : *Eh!, ndandiqodola andiphilangangu 'bani na*
 : (I was feeling cold, I am not well for anyone)
 : *Sithokoza sithokozile*
 : (Be happy, we are happy)
 : *Sicela kuwe Gogo*
 : (We are asking you Gogo)

Gogo Mtsila:

: *Thokoza khehle, thokoza nangenjabulo, mutwanam,*
ndizakhukhonzela amanzin-olwandle.
 : (Feel well ancestor I will worship for you in the sea
 water)
 : *Thokoza khehle*
 : (Be happy ancestor)

Gogo Mahlabekufeni - to Morwadi:

: *Eh, besesicela ukuhlehla*
 : (We ask to leave)

Gogo Morwadi:

- : *Hlehla Minenja, usikhonzele emalwandle*
 : (You may leave Minenja, worship for us at the sea)
- : *Hlehlela mangashaye*
 : (Leave and hit the water)
- : *Gogo omkhulu*
 : (Great Gogo)
- : *Thokoza khehle, khehle ebudeni*
 : (Feel well ancestor, go well in the long run)

Mahlabekufeni - to Mtsila:

- : *Besesicela ukukhehle*
 : (Please may we go)
- : *Besesicela ingoma siyayithanda nje kakhulu ke thina*
qsiqwazi ukuthi sihlahla phantsi
 : (We are asking for a nice song)

Song 3

- Solo:** *Uyabaleka umthethi wezindaba*
 (There runs the speaker of the news)
- Solo: (var.):** *le Ndaba inzima*
 (The news is difficult)
- Chorus:** *Umthethi wezindaba uyabaleka*
 (The speaker of the news is running away)

[She exits]

Diviner 2**Gogo Mkhawulela:****Song 1:**

- Solo:** *Bingelela yonke lapha mzinikabawo*
 (We bless everything in my father's house)
- Chorus:** " " " " " "

Variation

Solo var: *Iya thokozisa yonke elapha emzinikabawo*
(It's fine everything here in my father's house)

Chorus: *Bingelelela yonke emzinikababa-, Bingelelela*

ithokozisa - to Umtsila:

: *Yeyi! yeyi! mina ngiyathokoza, mina ngithokozisa*
ngejabulo, mina ngithokoza emgoko
: (I am well, I am well with happiness)

Gogo Umtsila:

: *Camagu*
(Be appeased)

Gogo Mkhawulela:

: *Mina sengibotshwa bantu ngebhulukwe Mgabe, Sengithwasa*
mtlavane ye langa. Usomdali, udomkhulu inkonjane langa
: (I was a tied person, with a pair of trousers. Then I
had visions of shadows of the sun. The creator, the
highest, the swallow of the sun)
: *uNkosomkhulu. Umkhonzane omkhulu uMahlasane nje*
ngoJonjo kaNxumalo njengotat 'omkhulu uManyola, ujengo-
gamedula noMsuthu usukekhaya noMagwagwasa, usuka
kwahlebele, usuke nto ntoni ngani, esengento bekubawo.
Yabe seyibakukhula kwami.
: *Ngisayi bonga inyonga yami, ngisakubonga ijazilami*
besengibonga sangoma besengiya thokoza, sengiba
ngumkhwenyana, senugiba nguMtukulu, ngisagangikusize,
yebo sengiyathokoza
: (I am still praising (thanking) my bladder. I am still
praising my urenal. I am praising (thanking) the
sangoma - then I felt well. Then I became your
grandchild. I am still willing to help. Yes I feel
well)

[She repeats the *ithokozisa* as above to other diviners]

Song 2:

Solo: *He, 'mfazi wam angilalemzini ngiyesaba*

Chorus: *Angilalemzini kunenyoka*
(I am afraid of sleeping in the house because there is a snake)

Song 3:

Solo: *Emanzini, emanzini isangomasilali emanzini*

Chorus: *Emanzini isangoma*
(A 'sangoma' does not sleep in the water)

Song 4

Solo: *Salani, salale ekhaya. Salani, salani ngiyemuka*

Chorus: *Uyamemeza salani balekhaya*
(Stay, stay at home, we are leaving now. Please stay at home)

Diviner No.3

Gogo Moya-wezwe (world-wind)

Song 1

Solo: *Sabingelela nonke la pha mzinikababa*

Chorus: " " " " "
(We bless all those at my father's home)

ithokozisa

[She praises her ancestors]

Song 2:

Solo: *Oyelele hoba ngizawusebenzela 'magogo*

Chorus: " " " "
(Oh yes I'm going to work for Gogo)

ithokozisa - to Gogo Morwadi praising ancestors asking for protection through the night

Song 3:

Solo: He mfazi wam awulal'e emzini kunenyoka
(My wife does not sleep at home, there is a snake)

Chorus: Awulalenzini kunenyoka
(She does not sleep at home there is a snake)

Song 4: ?

(Repeats *thokozisa*)

Song 5: ?

Diviner No.4

Gogo Magwasa:

Song 1:

Solo: Sabingelela Gogo wam

Chorus: " " "
(We Bless you my Gogo)

ithokozisa to Mtsila and then repeats to Morwadi - she expresses her gratitude and satisfaction as regards the 'intlombe'.

(Zulu) Habe ngiyathokozisa
 Habe ngoSkatsing (Clan name)
 Habe yintsizwa kaValabuhle
 " uyise kuDingindawo
 " gongumdlodlo katsikithudliwa yini
 " nguphula yini
 " ngatsho umklanjwa
 " jongu Ngobezulu
 " sangoma isibanyoni
 " ngayonyoza nguMadlokozela
 " uguManjanjani
 " wayobenginkunzi engayidla suku yayi

ntsizwa yendoda. Wabe ndondoza phezukwayo

- : *Sowamkela bo, Thokoza khele*
- : *(We thank names and praises)*
- : *Siyabonga Gogo*
- : *Sijabula ngumsebenzi wakho*
- : *(Your work makes us happy) (i.e. referring to intlombe)*
- : *Sijabule WeGogo*
- : *(We are happy)*
- : *Sijabule kanyekanye nawe*
- : *(We share the happiness with you)*
- : *Sikhona thina futhi*
- : *(We are always here)*
- : *Sibonana tyokoko, Sijabula kanye kanye nawe*
- : *(We see each other scarcely, we are happy to be with you)*
- : *Sisizwemvula namahlobo - ughubekeke mzebenzi wakho*
- : *(Rain helps us and in summer you keep on with your work)*
- : *Wabe nzofuna umsebenzi, Wabe ngizothuthuzela*
- : *Wabe ngusibaGogo, Wabe ngininjabula, wabe sebe jabulile*
- : *Wabe wendondoza mina thokozana, wabe nguthokoza omKhulu*

Gogo Mtsila:

- : *Thokoza khehle, sova ngowumbi, thokoza khehle, phaphukhona. Sova ngawe nobuhle nobulungila nomasekukubi. Sova ngawe Gogo*
- : *(Someone is going to tell us where you are. You will tell us the fineness and the goodness, even if it's bad, you are going to tell us, Gogo)*
- : *Nkosi edibezela amaKenga somkhupha ngoku*
- : *(King, ruler of the amaKenga, we will take him out now)*
- : *Sova ngawe ukuthi masithini, thokoza*
- : *(You are going to tell us what to do)*

- : *Kuhle lami - Nkabingatho hlolo umsebenzi wakho lowo.*
 : (That is your work)
- : *Thokoza Gogo, wawu agithezelwa mntwanami*
 : (It had been passed on you my child)
- : *Hlala, hlala nakude kakhulu*
 : (Sit, sit, far away)
- : *Lapho wawusebenzela Amagilo keke*
 : (There you were working for Amagilo)
- : *Thokoza, wawuthwalela ubuhlungu mntwanam*
 : (Thokoza, you carry sorrow my child)

Gogo Magwasa - to Morwadi:

- : *Habe ngiyabonga phezukomsebenzi*
 : (I am thanking on behalf of the work - i.e. *intlombe*)
- : *Habe nguZathibe gobolwakhe*
 : (It is the original one)

[She repeats *ithokosiza* to others reiterating her praises for the effort put into the *intlombe*]

Song 2: (?)

Vumisa

Gogo Magwasa:

- : *Uthi ngenze njani [Siyavum']*
 : (What must I do)
- : *Habe ngathi thuwa Gogo, he! [Siyavum']*
 : (I say)
- : *Habe kunzima, wabe ngithi kuhlele, hi!*
 : (It's difficult to say what's taking place)
- : *Habe ngithi soba ngenyawo, he!*
 : (I say, run away on your feet)
- : *Habe madoda sizobona, he!*
 : (Men, we will see)

- : *Wabe kasiyenzeka leya,*
: (It happens that,)
- :
: (Something is coming through her)
- : *Thokoza khehle, kunjalo khehle, umvile khehle*
: (It's just like that, did you hear her)
- : *Umva khehle, Gogo umvile phofu*
: (Can you hear her, clearly, did you hear)
- : *Uthi Gogo ukhona umkhuba okhoyo thina bantu sihamba ngenyawo*
: (You say Gogo, there is a habit of we people walking barefoot)
- : *Ewe, ngaphezulu nathi thina bantu bemithi*
: (Yes, besides, we are people of medicine)
- : *Utsho ukuthi ayingabantu abamnyama bodwo kukho nabe muthi*
: (You mean to say not the black people only, there are those of medicine)
- : *Wabe andizubeka bala*
: (I am not accusing anyone in particular)
- : *Wabe mina ngibuyempumalanga*
: (I am coming from the east) (She points eastward)
- : *Ha, nje ngohambo uthi mangenze njani*
: (Visiting with what I must do)

Gogo Morwadi:

- : *Thokoza khehle, hayi abanakwenza lutho khehle, bayadlala thokoza*
: (No they will not succeed, they are only playing)
- : *Thokoza khehle funeka siba lindele ngasonke isikhathi*
: (We must be prepared for them at anytime)
- : *Sibalinda sonki sikathi*
: (We are waiting for them anytime)

- : *Sihlelele bona Gogo. ha bo sijonga empumalanga*
 : (We are looking towards the east)
- : *Sihlelele bona umkhosi Gogo*
 : (There is an army waiting for them)
- : *Mabengena awana sanzento Gogo, kanye abaphethe imithi*
 : *nje ngathi, nje basiza lapha Gogo*
 : (Those who have been people of medicine like us, I have
 helped them here)
- : *Ungabahluphekeli mntwana makhun'ali khosi*
 : (Don't worry about them my child)
- : *Ngendaba yokuthi sihlezi lapha nje, size sibekenzela*
 : *ngentliziyo zethu.*
 : *Siyazi ukuthi abanye abazanga ngokubekezela bazohlola*
 : *uba nini lento kiMowadi na.*
 : (We know that some people here did not come by heart,
 they came to investigate)
- : *Thokoza khehle ayina lutho Gogo, vela silindela*
 : *okunjalo*
 : ('Thokosa' - that's useless, yes we are waiting for
 them)
- : *Akhona amakhehle angqengqezayo phambili mntwanami*
 : (There are ancestors walking ahead of us my child)
- : *Yazi azovela asityela ukuthi kwenzenjani amakhehle*
 : (They will tell us what is happening)

[End of *Vumisa*]

Song 3:

Some confusion - 2 songs begin together.

(Solo: *Uyabeleka umthethi wezindaba*)

(Chorus: *Umthethi wezindaba uyabaleka*)

(This song is dropped)

Solo: *Salale ekhaya*

Chorus: *Salale ho salale ekhaya*

[She EXITS]

Diviner No.5

Gogo Finisa: (male; xhosa)

Song 1:

Solo: *abingelela ngonyama ilawula ngebhoso*

Chorus: " " " "

itokhozisa (inaudible) ..

Song 2:

Solo: *le mini yeza nakuwe*

Chorus: " " " "

Song 3:

Solo: *Sangoma asilale'manzini*

Chorus: *asilale'manzini'*
(The Sangoma does not sleep in the water)

Diviner 6

Gogo Dublamanzi:

Song 1:

Solo: *Thokozani salaleni lapha*

Chorus: *Thokoza ngoma*

itokozisa

Kakhulu, kakhulu, awu bekunjalo.

Ngoba ngintsizwa hlanyi, kakhulu, kakhulu etc.

Song 2:

Solo: *Ngilawuleneneni ngilawuleneneni bo uSeba uyathwasa*
(Rule me, Rule me, Seba is going to thwasa)

Chorus: *Ngilawuleleni bo Sebuya thwasa*
Uyithathile kodwa uyithathile lengoma

itokhosiza - to Mtsila
(isibongo)

- : *Wabe sengiDublamanzi uGogo nje kakhulu*
- : *Wabe*
- : *Wabe zintsiswa sivuyisa kakhu'*
- : *Wabe seyise wam kakhu'*
- : *Wabe sengibuya sengikhosin*
- : *Wabe seyiatsizwa kaNdivisa*
- : *Wabe seyi Gugu nje kakhulu*
- : *Wabe seyinguMisathwa, wabe seyintsizwa*
- : *Wabe seyiQhinyana, wabe Sezji nguGwashe isifu*
- : *Wabe seyintsizwa kaSiwande*
- : *Wabe seGogo se Gugs Semikazi wesiphaji*
- : (She is the owner of the purse)
- : *Wabe semadoda sehlange, Awu! sekuhlange madoda nabafazi*
- : (There the man met, man and women)
- : *Awu! wabe seyintsizwa keSibiya, kakhulu*
- : (Awu! Then came a warrior of 'Sibiya')
- : *Habese dabuke yimpela, wabe sedabuke seSisila*
- : (Then I was really changed. I became Sisila)
- : *Habese ngiphakathi kwaMathela*
- : (Then I was among the Mathela)

- : *Wabe sengihlongabeza kenjalo*
- : (Then he met me like that)
- : *Wabese ngiphume maBaceni zinthevela*
- : (Then he took me to 'Baceni', clan of my men)
- : *Kakhulu, kakhulu, etc.*

Gogo Mtsila:

- : *Thokoza Dublamanzi; thokoza khehle*
- : (Be happy Dublamanzi)
- : *Ngambona leThoko uthondwa ngenjabulo*
- : (I see 'Thoko' with love and happiness)
- : *Ha mbone hlahlamba wangezindlela*
- : (I see him walking up and down the roads)
- : *Ngobi nkondse wayidlayo yadliwa ndimu gala*
- : (What you ate was also eaten by me)
- : *Usakuhlabekelela Gogo; Engathi ngiyobona mang'ndiza phezu koGogo*
- : (He still worries about you Gogo; I imagine flying over Gogo)
- : *Kwelolizwe likude kakhulu khehle nomfuzi, hamba nokuhlupheka Tobula, yiza nokuhlupheka ngone ye Mpande*
- : (In that country far away, ancestor and wife, go with poverty 'Tobula', bring poverty son of Mpande)
- : *Hawu, ngasobingeleka abakwa Mkhulu lapho waphuma khona iMpande yakwa Sibiya*
- : (I am going to bless those of 'Mkhulu' where I have risen from - 'iMpande' of the 'Sibiya')
- : *Hawu, ladabula - kaHlale; Amaphekudlala. kwaDlamini, la pha baphicyo khona Gogo*
- : (I was surprised (shocked) to see it was torn -)
- : *Nhlala nathi nkosi yami, ubusuku bonke sithembeke kuwe Dublamanzi*
- : (Stay with us my majesty through the night, we trust you)

- : *Ya utshele ukuthi ngaba kwenzeke kunjani mani*
 : (Then tell me if something happens and how it did happen)
- : *Ayi, kodwa nkosiyam ngiyabuka bantwana bami, jabula ngijabula - Thokoza kehle*
 : (But my majesty I am pleased about your children, be happy - I am happy)

Gogo Dublamanzi:

- : *Habe sengihlangabeza kanjalo; wabe sensebenai kakhulu; wabe wona semuhle nje impela*
 : (Then he met me like that, then I was working, the work was fine)
- : *Habe ngoka loMigoba -; wabe - sikhaba ngezinyawo; - howu! sekunjalo*
 : (Then there was 'Migoba' -; then - he kicked with his feet, it was just like that)

Song 3:

Solo: *Hetshon 'emanzi we 'ngom 'unamandla*
 (Get into the water you are powerful)

Chorus: *We Gogo unamandla*
 (Gogo, you are powerful)

[She repeats 'ithokozisa' to Gogo Morwadi]

Song 4:

Solo: *uSatane uphethizembe agawula abakhohwayo (+ chorus)*
angekhendilulahle ukholo lwami
 (Satan has an axe, he chops at the believers, I will never loose my faith)

ithokozisa

- : *Ho! besekunjalo; ho! besekufuneke somelele*
 : (It was like that, we must make ourselves strong)
- : *Soyisawami, ho! besekufuna uqine nje kancane*
 : (My guardian, I like you to be a little strong)

- : *Ho! msebenzisa Nkulunkulu wakho*
 : (Ho! use your highest (God))
- : *Ho! ubulela okuzo noyihlo -, haphela yindoda eligwola impela;*
 : (Ho! mercy brought by your father but not a brave man;)
- : *Ho! uyasoba kakhulu impela nje; besekunjalo*
 : (He is always afraid)
- : *Ho! abakhulu besekunikile yintsikelelo;*
 : (The highest have given you their blessings;)
- : *Ho!, sophathe ngesandla*
 : (You have taken them)
- : *Yimpela, ha, kuthi umsebezi wawudalela*
 : (They say you were born for this work)
- : *Yimpela, kuthiwa umsebenzi yibanawo nje impela*
 : (They say you always have work)
- : *Ha, katshi ndwendwe nje impela*
 : (The visitors say so)
- : *Hayi zona wazidalewa nje iimpela*
 : (You have been born for them)
- : *Maso uhamba nje, uhamba nazo, hown bekunjalo*
 : (When you walk, you walk with them, just like that)
- : *Noma bekufiselukubi, akungeke kube njalo*
 : (Even if they like you for badness, it will never be that way)
- : *Ha! mfoka Madlozi buya nabo nje impele*
 : (Ha! clan of ancestors, bring them please)

Gogo Morwadi:

- : *Noma bayayenza ayinankinga*
 : (Even if they know that is not a problem)
- : *Sekudalamkhehle andikhombile; thokoza khehle*
 : (It's a long time ago, the ancestors appointed me; be happy)

- : Bayadlala, abazi sesibawundlela kudala
 : (They are playing; not knowing we are aware)
- : Basalungisa bona sendibabonile; thokozakhehle
 : (They are still making preparations, I have already seen them)

Song 5:

Solo: *iNontsikelelo*

Chorus: *Nyazazi ntsikelelo*

(Gogo Dublomunzi comments that she is not satisfied with their singing)

ithokozisa

- : Haka hlangani; ngizabashaya ngibashayele bonke bazojabula
 : (They are not doing well; I am going to hit them then they will dance and become happy)
- : Bantu bonke bashaya masimba basefuna ukuthi masigidelo mna; ngagula; ngagula
 : (All the people are singing shit they want me to dance for them, I am sick)
- : Hayi bayanyanisa abuye ngigide mina
 : (Now they make me sick I am going to dance)
- : Ha sala wena nalo gwijo la kho
 : (Stay with your song)
- : Ho bese ncono baleka Gogo, balekela emalwandla
 : (I better run Gogo; run to the sea)
- : Ho! phela undikagiya ngeke nditsho ndigiyile
 : (You want me to dance. I don't want to.)
- : Andijabulanga impela, undikajabuli ngoku -
 : (I am not happy, I am still not happy because -
- : - bashayela amasimba
 : (- they are singing shit)

Gogo Mtsila:

- : *Thokoza kehle ngendalo yojabulo lwama khehla. Hayi usikonzela; nzabong' uMgwazi-weni, ngubaba wami lowo. Nkosi yami angifuni ukumhlalisa*
- : *(Worship for us, I will worship uMgwazi-weni, my father. My majesty I won't let him sit)*
- : *Yehla kahle mntwana. Ndibuhlungu nomiNkosi yami. Sengikhohliwe*
- : *(Come down my child. I am sad my majesty, I don't know what to do)*
- : *malwandle - mandla, mandlakho pa Gogo -*
- : *(I am running away, I have suffered with you, - pray to the sea, - with your strength, Gogo)*
- : *Thokoza, oh Nknosiyam*
- : *(Feel happy majesty)*

[She repeats to Morwadi]

Gogo Finisa: (Asks her to sing but she refuses saying they are singing 'shit')

- : *Hawu awashayela, ngawu gide nje oku qcina Gogo*
- : *(Please sing, please dance for the last time)*

Gogo Dublamanzi:

- : *Hayi! angekhe ngigidele amasimba*
- : *(No! I will never dance for shit)*

Gogo Finisa:

- : *Hawu sakucela Gogo*
- : *(Please Gogo)*

Gogo Dublamanzi:

- : *Hawu angekhe ngidele amasimba*
- : *(I will never, for shit)*

Gogo Finisa:

- : *Hawu uzoshayi impela Gogo uyakuphila Gogo nje*
- : (Dance once Gogo then you will feel well)

Gogo Dublamanzi:

- : *Ngiugula sen'khatheI'ukuhlabela impela*
- : (I am sick I don't want to introduce a song)

Song 6: uNontsikelo

- : *ithokozisa*
- : *Ngiagula; hlabelani impela; Hayi besenthanda mina*
ukuqiya; ha ngithi abantu mabakhohlela
- : (I am sick; introduce a song please; no - I like to
dance; I say the people must sing)
- : *Hawu dedele hi impela; hi kakhulu*
- : (You are undermining me)
- : *Abanye bazokulala nje impela*
- : (Others are coming here to sleep)

Song 7:

Solo: *Uo, sihamba njena bakhonana*
(We are walking not knowing they are here)

Chorus: *Ho sihamba njena*
(We are walking like that)

ithokozisa

- : *Ha kuthi makungivumi angivumi; mangi shayela hitsho*
man; angi nje ngaphuma luna
- : (If you are not singing then I will also not. When I
am singing you must sing, I am not going out here)
- : *Nge gwiya na liphuma lihlale phantsi landana*
- : (When you sing you make me sit down and feel sad)
- : *Hawu ningishayela ngigiye impela ningabuye nishaye*
lemosimba makufuneke ngigibe lana
- : (Sing a song so I can dance, don't sing this shit.
When it is my turn to dance here)

- : *Hayi nginibekile ngathi ongibone kakuhle*
 : (I look at you as if not seeing you)
- : *Nginbekile njene mqobo, ongini bekekahlenje*
 : (I am watching you, I am watching you)
- : *Kakhula; Kakhulu; Hayi kanye kuthinidlalisa*
 : " " "
 : (No, maybe you are playing -)
- : *Ngayo inkedama; uthi ndanisela bani nje*
 : (- with an orphan; You say who is she dancing for)
- : *Angimamali jevele hothebela bani*
 : (I have no mother - whom am I going to tell)

Song 8:

- Solo: *Ho ndina mama, Ho ndina tata*
 (I have no mother, I have no father)
- Chorus: *thetha yayo mama, thetha yayo tata*
 (Talk mother, talk father)
- [She EXITS]

Diviner 7

Gogo Morwadi:

Song 1:

- Solo: *Sabingelela sbuya kwaMagwasa Mathunga*
 (We bless those coming from " ")
- Chorus: *Sabingelela*

ithokozisa

- : *Ho besengiyathokoza khehle, ho sengi thokoza*
 : (I am happy ancestor)
- : *Ho base nguMorwadi Kahrona. Ho bese ngakhuliswa nguMo-
 ---; Hobesengu Dabulamanzi ka Mvuleni; ho bese
 nguDlalisa*
- : (I am Morwadi Kalirona; I was brought up by -----,
 then brought up by Bolulamanzi, then by Dlalisa)
- : *Bafazi namadoda ----- ho besengiyona ---*
 : (Women and man ----- I become one -)

- : *Manzi mashaya kakhulu; Ho bese nqiyo nemhlophe*
entsegebuza kakhulu
 : (- water hits hard; I am white women thwasa)
- : *Ho bese nguMahlale Zulu*
 : (My name is Mahlale Zulu (i.e. Heaven dweller))
- : *Intsiswa ka Ngomezulu kakhulu, ho bese ngidabukeba*
nobongumsebenzi phakathe kweli khaya
 : (the warrior of NgemuZulu, I come to praise the work in
 this home)
- : *Ho bese kunjalo khehle kakhule*
 : (I was like that ancestor)
- : *Ho, besekunjalo khehle*
 : (I was just like that ancestor)

Gogo Mtsila:

- : *Jabula nkosi, sijabulele umsebenzi, jabule kakhulu,*
babone nalapha kuwe
 : (Be happy majesty, we are happy about this work, very
 happy, we have seen from you)
- : *Ngathi sowukhululwe namuhla ukosi yami*
 : (It's as though you have been freed today)
- : *Kade ---- Morwadi ---- lelilabathi*
 : (long ago ---- Morwadi ---- on this earth)
- : *Mani namhla ukhula ngokukhula; Thokoza khehle*
 : (But today she is growing and growing; be happy
 ancestor)

Gogo Morwadi:

- : *Ha besekunjalo khehle*
 : (It was like that ancestor)

[To Gogo Finisa]

: *Ho bese kunjalo khehle lami; ho sidabuka ngenjabulo,
ha! bese Morwadi kalirona; ha, besengakhuliswa
nguSordikama*

: (It was like that my ancestor, we came here about
happiness. I am 'Morwadi' lirona. I was brought up by
Sodikama)
(etc. - as before)

: *Mpumlelo chosi; ashukuma mathombo*

: (Success, we are happy, the bones are shaking)

[She repeats *isibongo* 3x]

Song 2:

Solo: *ho sebekhuluma ngami*

(They are talking about me)

Chorus: *halela, ho sebe khuluma ngomi halela*

Variation I:

Solo: *ho lamadoda lelizwe* (Men of this world)

Variation II:

Solo: *ho zezondaba zezwe ho sebe khuluma ngami*

(It's the news of the world, they are talking about
me)

[She repeats *ithokozisa* as before]

Gogo Morwadi is the final performer and she is followed by a session of '*ukuhlehla*', a form of '*ithokozisa*' but here the diviners are possessed by the powerful 'river ancestors' called '*amaNdau*'. They speak the language ('*isindau*') which only a selected few can understand. Translation can only be made therefore by one who has undergone the river ceremony during the *twasa* period.

(See supplement if possible).

During the '*hlehla*' of Gogo Moya-Wezwe, Spokes began singing loudly above the other singers (only diviners singing softly).

Magwasa rebukes Spokes:

- : *Glizwi lakho litshile mani alikwazi ukulandela, ha/*
suyenza, jonganga wena suyenza uto zakho apha
ndakuphuma phandle buzo banxa apha
- : (Your voice is spoiled man, you can't follow the tune,
don't do it, look here, don't come and do what you like
here. I am going to throw you out if you come with
drunkenness here)

[Shortly after this Spokes becomes violent, losing control
of himself - letting out loud 'madlozi' cries]

[He is taken outside by Baba Manci]

General comments:

- : *uyanxila wasela watshaya, umkuphe phondle Gogo*
- : (He is drunk and smoked, throw him out Gogo)
- : *Mkhupheni ngaphandle yazi unamadlozi akukho mutu*
unokunsebenza maye xa enamadlozi
- : (No, you know he's got 'dlozi' but no one can work with
him. He is like that when he's got that 'dlozi')
- : *Makabanjwe apha ezintlongweni*
- : (You must grab him by his dreadlocks)
- : *Spokes, khawumamela ukumamela kumuandi*
- : (Spokes, will you listen, it's nice to listen)

Spokes:

- : *tshona ngaphakathi ivena*
- : (Hey! you, get inside!!)

Comments:

- : *Myekeni abethewe ngumoya*
- : (Leave him let him get some fresh air)
- : *Mabeze namanzi makakhiwe mani. Xiza namanzi khawubeza*
nje natsika
- : (Let him bring some water man, bring some water
quickly)

Spokes:

- : *Nzani gigisela phandle nixeva. Ntwana - yezwew*
- : (I'm going to throw you two out, do you hear me Ntwana-yezwe)

Comments:

- : *Xolo, xolo, sicela uxolo*
- : (Forgive us, forgive us, we ask for forgiveness)

Spokes:

- : *Niyazi lonto leyo ndaniqibisela phaphandle nobabini*
- : (Do you know that I can throw you out, you two)
- : *Ndipheli mpi mna*
- : (I am used to clan wars)

(MAN) (?)

- : *Sicelu xolo Sicelu uxolo, yiza nentwawa yamanzi*
- : (We ask for forgiveness, bring some water)

Spokes:

- : *Ndihelimpi mna (repeats)*
- : (I am used to clan wars)

Baba Manci:

- : *Yima, yima; Spokes, Spokes*
- : (Wait Spokes)

Spokes:

- : *Hamba!, Hamba! awukahambi kum, Awukahambi kum, makahambe*
- : (Go, go, she did not go away - from me, let her go)

Women:

- : *USpokes uyangokuba "worse" kubethwa*
- : (Spokes becomes worse the more he gets a hiding)

- : *Spokes, Spokes yintoni mtukwethu, sicela xolo, hamba ubuso spokes*
 : (Spokes, what's wrong my brother, please forgive us - wash your face Spokes)

Spokes:

- : *Akusukuba ndiya thanda asinako ukoyiswa nguSatana apha sikwintoyedlozi, ndikuSatana obubugu*
 : (What I do it's not my will, we can't be overpowered by satan here at this work of madlozi, I am in Satan myself)
 [Spokes gradually regains his self-control]

Inside:

Gogo Pheko: (an umkwetha)

- : *Yeke, Yeke*
 : (Stop singing, stop singing)
 : *Mbangi bandiphakame bendijabulisa uThahla Ndayeni uNqunqushe ngoba ndingowalapha aZinyoni, undikwazi ukuzimela*
 : (The reason why I stand up is that I am sharing the happiness with 'Thahla Ndayeni' because I belong here at Zion. It's difficult for me to hide myself)
 [Some try to start a song]
 : *Khawumamela kaloku, khanimamelani*
 : (Listen please, please listen people)
 : *Impondo kaloku madoda wonke umuntu unento yakhe unusihlewete sukhe ningabuzi kuthi yini?*
 : (Give ears please men everybody has his own likings and his own fans - don't ask us what is going on)

Another thwasa:

- : *Sakhahlela makhosi amakhulu, lendoda kudala indikruxazisa, mane ndiyotshaya pha phandle, ngoku ndiya yithuthuzela ingathathi kaloku ndingumntu onezinto*
 : (We greet you great ancestors, this man is pressuring me to commit a crime of smoking outside, now I am talking of him but he says nothing because I am a person with things)

Gogo Pheko: (thwasa)

- : *kaNdamase, ngqo chasi makhosi amakhulu - uzi thethayo, ezithetha atunqubni ezinye zithetha egazini. Nevangeli ikwalapha kum*
- : (Ndamase, greetings greet ancestors that talk, they talk in my throat, some talk in my blood-veins. Christianity is also in me)
- : *Ziwumaqusha kamnandi nezakwantu zikwalapha kum. Ke ndiawomthuthuzela lo mutu walapha emzini. Nloko angakhathazeki*
- : (They agreed with me, all Xhosa beliefs are in me. I am conveying our visitor in this home. We must not be sad)
- : *Ndiza kuyigqibezela nje kancinci ndinikezele ko mama. Ndihomba ndogqiba ndovuma naye pha phandle*
- : (Now I am going to finish up just a little and give to the women and then I will go and sing with him outside)

Song:

Solo: *Haa ye camagu*

Chorus: *Camagu*

Song:

Solo: *Ho ndilinda moya*

(Ho! wait for me spirit (wind))

Chorus: " " " " "

Gogo Mtsila:

- : *Thokoza Khehle lami*
- : *Ndaze ndazo fika laphe Kupa. Nduhamba ndibeke e'toilet' nfike ndikhale*
(I came here to Cape Town. Then I went to the toilet and cried)
- : *Ndiva ukuthi kuya yujuzu laphe suswini sam*
- : (I heard something shaking in my stomach)
- : *Ndikhoohlwe kuba ndiselokishini lapha*
- : (I believe because I am living in the location)

- : *Ndityiswa ngabantu endingabaziyo. Ndiyabonga mntwana wami, ukhule kanjalo ungalilibali siko lakwini*
 : (The people gave me food to eat. I am thanking my son)
 : (Grow up, don't forget your customs)
- : *Ningalibali torho nilibale. Ningalibali siko lo yihlobenu nqoba miyabajezisa. Namhla kuswela intwana asitradweni*
 : (Never forget your forefather's customs or you will make them angry. Today the children are suffering in the streets)
- : *Kutyezweni ngoku uzusela utywala sekulitya - Thokozani makhehle*
 : (To eat far from home and drink alcohol; that is not good) (Be happy ancestors)
- : *Sanudonisa luba bantu baninxangile. Izinyangi zenu namhla ziyahlekwa ngendaba yenu*
 : (Please don't make them angry, they healed you. Your healers today are taken as fools by you)

The song of the Marriage Ceremony

Solo: *He! mfazi wami*
 (He! my wife)

Chorus: *Anqilali amzini nqiyesaba*

(I do not sleep at home, I am running away)

[There is practically no spoken dialogue during this ritual]

[After the marriage ceremony is completed there is a break before another session of 'Xhentsa' and 'tokhozisa'. As the 'ithokozisa' sessions comprise almost totally of 'isibongo' (praises) and are a repeat of the night before, only the succession of songs are provided]

Thwasa ?

Song 1:

Solo: *Thokoza mabaphile khaya*
 (Greetings, long live those at home)

Chorus: *Thokoza Ngoma*

Song 2:

Solo: *Thokoza thina aba saba bonikazibe khaya*

Chorus: *Ayi yo wa yo*

Song 3:**Solo:** *Ho, Bingelela Gogo***Chorus:** " " "**Gogo Mkoulela:****Song 1:** *Binglelela Gogo (continued)***Song 2:****Solo:** *Ho nyawalam la hamba do sebenzela amahlala***Chorus:** *Ho, nyawu lam la hamba do " "***Song 3:****Solo:** *Songoma asilali amanzini***Chorus:** " " "**Gogo Moya-wezwe:****Song 1:****Solo:** *Sabinglelela nonke mzin'kababa*
[Video cut]**Gogo Magwasa:****Song 2:****Solo:** *Uyamemezu ubaba yo hoholo***Chorus:** *Uyamemezubaba***Song 3:****Solo:** *Iyajabula mayizongena***Chorus:** *Ingonyama ye dlozi (iyajabula mayizongena)***Gogo:****Song:****Solo:** *Sangoma silal 'emanzini***Chorus:** " "

Song:

Solo: *He Ngwane senilale ma*

Chorus: *Ngwane senilale ma*

Song:

Solo:

Chorus:

: *Ngagula, Ngagula ngiyabonukuthi nina amliboni langa
ndizanibetha nina*

Spokes: *siyasaba Gogo*

Song:

Solo: *amabalabala*

Chorus: *XiNgwe amabalabala yiNgwe*

Gogo Morwadi:

: *Woli, woli, woli, funeka eli Dlozi lihlahlambe man.
Hayi andifuni dlozi alinyabilela, Thokoza khehle*

Dublamanzi:

: *Hayi thokozakhehle kunjalo, thokoza khehle Ngiyabonga;
kunja uhlale ubonga nomsebenzi, hayi umsebenzi uhambe
kahle impela. Ngoba sigiye ubusuku bonke sesitha
amazini nje kuku hlabelela. Sicule ubusuku bonke.
Thina abanye amazwi ethu ingawa "se half price".*

Gogo Morwadi: *Thokoza khehle*

Song: *Sasiceli mphepho izayoni asayifumani*

Chorus: *Izayoni asayimani*

Song:

Solo: *Sangoma asilalemanzini*

Chorus: " "

Song:

Solo: *Waphul'umoya wam*

Chorus: " "

Song:**Solo:** *Mlamleleni mlamlelenibo wSebe uyathwasa***Chorus:** *Aya ho ho! mlamleni uSebe uyathwasa***Gogo Morwadi:****Song 1:****Solo:** *Sabingelelana***Chorus:** *Sabingelela Sibuya kwa Magwaza***Song 2:****Solo:** *Kuyasa kuyasasele'Isaleni***Chorus:** " "**Thokozisa**

: *Thokoza khehle labantu sebeshayela amazimba;*
Bengasathandi ukuhlabela nini kakhulu

Song 3:**Solo:** *Ho! sebekhuluma ngami***Chorus:** *Halalala***Var.Solo:** *HoZezo ndaba zezwe ho sebekhuluma ngami***Song 4:****Intro:** *Baya songa abanganibami badabuka luvalo***Solo:** *Wo bayasonga abanganibami phume sekilani***Chorus:** *Budabuka lumvalo baya songa abangani bami***Song 5:****Solo:** *Uyabaleka umthethi wezindaba***Chorus:** *Umthethi wezindaba uyabaleka*

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTION OF AUDIO RECORDING OF INTLOMBE NO.3

(Selected Material)

Madoda:

: *Bendini bizela, icamagu ndithi enkosi kakhulu.*
 : (I invited you, be appeased, I say thanks.)

: *Ndiyavuya ukuba umntu afune ukuxola*
 : (I am happy if a person wants peace.)

: *Nto esiyenzayo apha ndivuma ukufa ukuba umaTshezi makahambe ngandlela emhlophe angakhubeki athi xa ahambayo akhubeke elityeni abuza ukuba kuthena ndikhubeka nje.*

: (What we do here is we agree that maTshezi's road must be clear (white), she must not be tripped while she walks, trip over a stone asking why she tripped.)

: *Ahamba nje kakhuhle*
 : (She must walk nicely.)

: *Athi ukuba akamameli ngendlebezakhe akava xa xeletwayo ngubantu angeva azobuza ukuba kutheni angamameli*
 : (Say when she can't hear with her ears and the people keep on telling her and she still won't listen, she must ask why she is not listening.)

: *Nje xa kuthethwa, injalo ntangam.*
 : When they talk, its like that my friend.)

: *Funeka xa kuthethwayo umamele uva ukuba.*
 : (When they talk to you, you must listen and hear.)

: *Kuthiwani na ngoku ba awuvanga usubele uthi hi andivanga*
 : (Listen to what they say, if you did not hear, ask them to repeat it again.)

: *Uncedisane nomntu onyanga wena, ukuba akumncedisi umntu onyanga wena ukugula kwakho kuzakuqhubeka kubeke phambile.*

- : (You must help the person who heals you if you do not work with her (diviner), your sickness will become worse and you will not be healed.)
- : *Funeka umntu onyanga wena xa ekunyanga athi mntanami, uthi mntanami nokuba selixhawukazi noba selixhekwazi uthi mntanami'.*
- : (The person who heals you will say; "my child", then you must also say; "my child", even if she is an old woman say; "my child".
- : *Funeka uphakame funeka uthi 'mama' nobali hi ntombi ephuma ke funeka uthi 'mama'.*
- : (You must stand up and you must say, 'mother', even if she is a girl who comes out, you must say 'mother'.)
- : *Wenza lento athi yenza yona ngoba uyagula.*
- : (Do what she tells you because you are sick.)
- : *Uzophila, (-----) abuthengwa ngamali buthengwa ngokuhoya abazali bakho, nabantu bakowenu abahleliyo naba- bhubileyo.*
- : (You will become well, you can't buy ['health'] with money, you buy it by looking after your parents and your relatives and ancestors, who are alive.)
- : *Funeka uhoye abantu bako wenu, aba bhubhileyo, uhoye abantu bako wenu aba hleliyo*
- : (You must look after your relatives, those who died and those who are alive.)
- : *Kanti abakhathazeka kakhulu ngababhuhileyo, ngaphezu kwaba bahleliyo, nogoba aba babhubhileyo abakhathal nokuba unxile njani bafuna le nto bayifunayo.*
- : (The people who get very angry are those ancestors, more so than those who are alive, because the ancestors don't care how drunk you are - they want what they want.)
- : *Mandithi ke ntangam Tshezi, andinako ukubiza ngegama limbi ndakubiza ngeli lalapha.*
- : (let me say, my friend Tshezi, I am bound to call you that name here, not with other names.)
- : *Umntu olapha nguTshezi wonke umntu alopha angabizi isiduko sakhe esangapha kwesitrato yintla-nganiso le isidibanise apha.*

- : (Everybody here is Tshezi, they are not allowed to call their clan names here, in this street, it is only the meeting here that has put us together here.)
- : *He! bafondini enkosi bekhe. ndabeka dathi ayabulela amaTshezi, enkosi kakhulu.*
- : (He! man, thank you, the Tshezi clan are thanking you, thank you very much.)
- : *Makudede ubumnyama kuvele ukukhanya into esicelayo yileyo qha*
- : (let the darkness go away and lightness appear, that is what we want.)
- : *Nabasemlanjeni amathambo abo ayashukuma. Nabasehlatini amathambo abo ayashukuma.*
- : (Those in the rivers, their bones are shaking. Those in the forest, their bones are also shaking.)
- : *Ngoba naku apha siyaphila sonke.*
- : (Because we are all well here.)
- : *Kuba kukho izithunzela kukho namagqwirha neziporho, yonke into balaphe mhlabeni bakhona bonke.*
- : (Its because there are living ghosts and witches and ghosts, all these things are here on earth, all of them.)
- : *Kodwa ke amathambo ayashukuma namhlanje wama Thezi ashukuma wonke, ayanyikima njeng'ba ndithetha nje, kuba ashukunyiswe, ashukunyiswe ngumaTshezi lo uwaphakamise makashukume.*
- : (But the bones of the Thezi clan are shaking today, all of them are shaking now while I am talking here. They are shaking, shaking because maTshezi lifted them up to shake them.)
- : *Ndithi ke siyabulela, sithi enkosi kakhulu. Igama elithethayo lithi makudede ubumnyama buvele ukukhanya. Camagu, nomzi lo ulapha.*
- : (I say, we are thanking you. Only one word appears and says - let the darkness go away and let lightness appear. Greetings (blessings) to this home.)
- : *Kangako noba nakomama abaphetheyo ndiyaba ngqulela ukuba babenamandla bamphakamise nokuba sengqengqile babeke emagxeni ndabangqulela ukuba babe namandla bamphathe.*

: (To the women who are handling this work, [-Gogo Morwadi] I pray for them, to have more power and lift her up when she falls and put her on their shoulders. I will pray that they will have enough power to carry her.)

: *Ukuba banento abongayi qondiyo beze nalapha kumaTshezi bathi kukwinto engayi qondiyo ngolu hlobo noluhlobo.*

: (If there is something they do not understand they must come here to the Tshezi's and say that there is something that they do not understand.)

: *Nganisi.....indawo maTshezi, sihla sithetha mani, sihla sithetha singama-doda, sihla sithetha sashiwa ngo-bawo.*

: (Show us the way Tshezi, we talk everyday, we talk to each other as we are men, we talk as we are left behind by our forefathers.)

Song

Solo: *Wenza ngabom, wadidiyela*
(He means it, make some beer.)

Chorus: *uNonkala, uNonkala ngasemlanjeni*
(The crab, the crab at the river.)

Madoda

: *Yazi yintoni, uxolo shh!!!, xolo bobawo, mna ndibona utatu..... indlela aqhuba ngayo apha usuke wamandelwa.*

: (Do you know, sorry shh!!!, forgive me father, I see that the way he behaves himself here is too much.)

: *Apha kukwaTshezi, ubona kumzi wase maMpandeni ngoTshezi ngenxa yentombi yakwaTshezi agulayo ke.*

: (I saw Tshezi at Mpandeni's home because of the daughter of Tshezi who is sick.)

: *Ngako oko igula ukufa inikezela ngamafende egqirheni.*

: (Its because she is very sick and dying, she is giving herself to 'doctors' (diviners).)

: *Ngathi sokunga amagqirha ooTshezi onozakuzaku abakhulu.*

: (I think the Tshezi 'doctor' will help.)

- : *Sisithi makudedu ubumnyama kuvele ukukhanya, sidibene ngalento, ngoku, akhona ama-'law' namangqina ngako oko ndi....., siya camagusha apha kwaTshezi. Camagu Mhlekezzi - sumbhombhozela nonkala.*
- : (We say let the darkness go and the lightness appear, this meeting is about that, people of the law and whiteness are here so I....., we are greeting here at Tshezi's, be appeased sir - don't murmur crab.)
- : *uDaliwe, nzakwenza indlela zenu zibe mhlope amaTenza ayikhokhele intombazana, eh! ayise kwindawo yokowayo, awungena pha kuzozonke indawo.*
- : (I am going to make your way 'clean [white], the Tenza people have led the girl and taken her to their own place, they will enter every place.)
- : *Baza yixelela ngokwabo xa ilala, bazayixalela ngokwabo xa seyimana ibetha isilawu sakwaTshezi.*
- : (They will tell her when she sleeps, they are going to tell us when its not following the Tshezi customs.)
- : *Isibeka pha ecang' kwebedi yayo ilala.*
- : (When she puts it next to the bed while sleeping.)
- : *Ngenyimini bathi ooTenza khawu-hlike ebhedini khawulale apha phantsi.*
- : (One day Tenza will want her to get off the bed and sleep on the floor.)
- : *Asikufuni sizawucela indabuko phezu kwebhedini.*
- : (We ancestors do not want you on the bed.)
- : *Umntu oligqirha akakwazi ukuthunga kakuhle phezu kwebhedini, umntu oligqirha ukholwa kuhlala phantsi.*
- : (A person of the 'doctor' [i.e. novice] can't sew nicely on the bed, she likes to sit on the floor.)
- : *Siya camagusha xa sisenza njalo apha kwam Khabela kwa - khon'bomvu. Camagu.*
- : (We are appeased when we do like that, here at Mkhabela at Khon'ubomvu. Be appeased.)
- : *Intombazana izilimamele igqirha izilimamele nethongo layo, ithi xa ingalisiyo ithongo egqirheni ise ithongo elithe tye.*
- : (The girl must listen to the 'doctor' she must listen to her dreams, if she does not take her dreams to her 'doctor' it can be bad.)

- : *Elimhlophe ngokwenyanga iphuma elugcwebeni, ndithi makudede ubumnyama kuvele ukukhanya.*
 : (White like a moon [-diviner] comes from the snow, I say let the darkness go and the light appear.)
- : *Nathi namhlanje sizongqina apha kwakhabela ukuba hayi, intombazana ivu.....; mandigqibezele, awu-khathazeka ukuba ifatyi ibimisiwe apha, iye yatyiswa apha yathi qengqelele ezo bhekile, yabuya ifatyi sekuthiwa iqutyudiwe ngako oko ndibona isichenene.*
 : (We came to witness here at Mkhabela's house, the girl has.....; let me finish off, 'You won't mind, the gourd was filled, it was drunk here and those pails were filled, the gourd was returned empty, I only see this little bit.)
- : *Nelekese bezikhona andazi nokuBa bezidityanisiwena isekhona intwananyana encinane ekhoyo, ungayihambisa mfana.*
 : (Lager was also available here, I don't know if it was mixed but here is a little bit, the young men can share this.)

[Further conversation continues concerning eating and drinking].

Song

Solo: *He, lilelithamsanga ndiyakwaliwa nguwe*
 (You will resist this good fortune.)

Chorus: *liyakwaliwa nguwe*
 (You will resist it.)

Madoda

- : *Indlela yam ilapha kwaTshezi.....nathi sibonga umsebenzi sonke, siya-gula silapha nje, besesitshsilo akonto ndizakuyithetha kuTshezi indlela mayibentle. Camagu! Isandla siyaphilisa.*
 : (My route is here at Tshezi....., we are also praising the work done here, we are all sick, we have told you, there is nothing I'm going to say, just farewell to Tshezi. Be appeased! The hand is healing.)

Song

Solo: *Siyakwaliwa nguwe ithemba.*
 (We are fighting for your hope.)

Chorus: *Ithemba liyakwaliwa nguwe.*
 (You resist the hope.)

Song

Solo: *Uyamemez ubaba wam.*
 (My father is calling.)

Chorus: *Uyamemeza ubaba wam, uyamemeza.*
 (My father is calling.)

Gogo Magwasa

: *Phofu ndiniqulela komana koThahla, oNdayeni koNdamase*
 ko....., Camagwini.

: (On your behalf I am praising to mother, to Thala, to
 Ndayeni, to Ndamase, to....., be appeased.)

: *.....Nditsho phay' endini apho ndende khona,*
 Camagwini.

: (.....I say to the home where I was married, be
 appeased.)

: *Nditsho emaZizini bethuna, camagwini, ngazi kwezo*
 zikhawu khawu xa bandenza umfazi phakathi kwentombi
 madoda, camagwini.

: (I say to the Zizini clan, be appeased, I know that
 there they made me a woman among the girls and men, be
 appeased.)

: *Ntombi ezininzi ezingakhange zivaswe, camagwini; He!*
 madoda emaZizini nditsho ndoninqulela nditsho kumazala
 owandizalela indoda, camagwini, ndibulela kamnandi
 kuMagcina clan, camagwini, buye nithandaze madoda
 niguqe gamadolo xa nifika, camagwini.

: (Many girls have never been washed, be appeased, Hey!
 man, I will praise on behalf of you the Zizini clan and
 to my grandmother who brought me my husband, I thank to
 the Magcina clan, be appeased, I say that the men, they
 must pray on their knees, be appeased.)

- : *Ndibulela xa ndiphakathi kwekhaya likeMpande, andifuni ukuphuma ndingathethanga, camagwini.*
 : (I am thanking, when I am in the Mpande's home, I don't like to go without saying a word, be appeased.)
- : *Ndithi amashwesingene nawo apha sowa qongqothela ngaphandle kwama sango, camagwini.*
 : (I say the bad luck we entered with here must be left outside of this gate, be appeased.)
- : *Ndingu Nyawuza mna nditsho nongandaziyo, camagwini, camagu, Nyawuza, Yiya, Yiya.*
 : (I am Manyawuza and I say to those who do not know me, be appeased Nyawuza, go, go.)

Song

- Solo:** *Heyi, ulele nje uyingwe hemabalabala.*
 (Heyi, he is a tiger with colours, he likes to boast.)

- Chorus:** *Uyingwe emabalabala.*
 (He is a tiger with colours.)

Song

- Solo:** *Ingonyama yedlozi iyajabula mayizongena.*
 (The lion of the ancestors is happy when it enters.)

- Chorus:** *Iyajabula mayizongena.*
 (It is happy when it enters.)

Madoda

- : *Hlalani phantsi bantwana, hlalani phantsi.*
 : (Sit down children, sit down.)
- : *Ungamisa nje yekumntwana akhanyelwe kakuhle zizihlewele zakowabo, athi ukuzibona angazoyiki.*
 : (Nobody stops you, leave the child to see the light from the ancestors, when she sees them, she must not be afraid.)

- :Abantu bakwa Mkhabela basebafuna ubukhwe kakhulu, bayeke intsimbi le. Lo nto yokukhandiyeza kanti, uvuma ngokwentsimbi emhlophe.
- : (The people of Mkhabela want to be with their grand family and to forget about the beads. By working with medicine you do not know, you heal with the white beads.)
- : Uzakunyathela "isiporo" ongakhange usinyathele abefane ukuba usinyathele. Ndibuhlungu, ndiyavuya ngoba ngani kudala ndiyibona lento kulo sisi.
- : (You will step on a trial which you have never walked on and get hurt, I am sorry, I am happy because I saw it a long time ago, from this woman.)
- : Ndibengafuna ukuthetha. Ndiqonde ukuba kweku lo mtu ndiyamphaza-misa ngoba ngumutu ozisokolelayo othe pha abe pha.
- : (I did not want to disturb this person because she struggles here and there.)
- : Kanti ke yohlulu mfundisi phezulu onekhola emhlophe yambeke apha ezantsi athi akugqiba simkhulule isihlangu, simnqenqise enxoweni nothi nasemethini enxoweni yo mngqusho, lino mbona, ngoba ngani sifuna izihlwele zakowabo zizo mphuthuma kulendawo.
- : (A priest, with a white collar, failed up there, it will put him down here and then we will have to pull off his shoes and lay him on a sack, not on a mat, a 'samp' sack, that one with maize meal, because we want his ancestors to come and fetch him at the place where he fell.)
- : MaTshezi, kwaye ekubuleni akonwa-tyiwanga ntombi yakwaMkhabela, kwaye ebuleni xa uye egqirheni kufuneka ufane nomntana abanga-ngawe ababakho.
- : (MaTshezi, at the place where you are going to be greeted there's no happiness, when you go to an 'igqirha' (doctor) you must behave like your small children.)
- : Usebenze ngokwakho wakufika egqirheni.
- : (You must be able to work when you arrive at the igqirha.)

- : *Ingabilo gqirha eli phakama ngokwakho wena uhleli phantsi.*
 : (It must not be the 'igqirha' who will stand while you sit down.)
- : *Kufuneka kutyelona lihleli phantsi lona kuba ngutitshala wakho.*
 : (The 'igqirha' must sit down when eating because she's your teacher.)
- : *Bofika phaya endlini mna noNozukile noGatyeni sowuhlala phantsi.*
 : (If you arrive at my house, „Nozukile, Gatyeni and I will remain seated.)
- : *Nabantwana bam ndithi kaloku hambani nokudlala kwabanye abantwana.*
 : (I will send my children to go and play with other children.)
- : *Nisebenze ngokwenu nina ningabahoyi, khawundi bethele le. Ngoma ithi ngawazi amayeza.*
 : (You must work on your own, don't worry about them. Sing for me the song 'He knows the medicine.')

Song

Solo: *Hen' uyawazi amayeza mayeza.*
 (You know the medicine.)

Chorus: *amayeza, amayeza.*
 (the medicine, the medicine.)

Song

Solo: *Bathi amayeza phelila.*
 (They say the medicine is finished.)

Chorus: *Hen' uyawazi amayeza.*
 (You know the medicine.)

Ndoda

- : *Ndawuthanda ukuthi masikhululeke.*
- : (I would like to let us not be afraid.)

- : *Ndifunukuthi lo mama walapha njeba egula nje.*
- : (I want to say to the woman who is sick here.)

- : *Ukuba akanakusetyenzula ngamasiko esiXhosa nogqirha noba sekemhlabe inaliti akanawuphila.*
- : (If she can't be healed by Xhosa customs no doctor and his injections can help her.)

- : *Akunawuphila....kungenzanga le nto apha namhlanje.*
- : (She won't be healed if this is not done to her today.)

- : *Impilo yakhe ngokwale ndawo ifuna ngoku abantu abafileyo abangekoya bayasebenza apha esiXhosa.*
- : (Her health concerning this matter wants the ancestors, they help very much in Xhosa customs.)

- : *Bayazi ukuba umxhosa uphila ngoluhlobo. Unemveli yengqondo nokudalwa noba akafundanga encwadini, ungathi nokuba sowufunde encwadini soze uyishiye inzala yakowenu.*
- : (They know that the Xhosa's live like this. He's got natural senses and was created like that, even if he never went to school, no matter how high you have studied, you will never leave your clan.)

- : *Baqiniseke, sithi ke samangqulela lo mama walapha ezinyanyeni ukuba aphile, her naam' ngu-Ntobizandile.*
- : (Be sure, we are praying for this woman, to the ancestors, to be healed - her name is Ntobizandile.)

APPENDIX C

TAPE TRANSCRIPTION OF SUKHWINI -VUMISA

Vumisa: Gogo Sukhwini
 Place: Gugulethu
 Date: 1/12/89
 Time: 12.20 pm

Gogo Sukhwini:

: *Bhotani bomtakwe*
 : (Greetings brothers and sisters)

Abantu:

: *Molo bawo*
 : (Good day father)

Gogo Sukhwini:

: *Ndiyabulela ngokuba.....*
 : (I thank that.....)

: *Ityala liyamiswa ukuba ngaba ke wena mhlawumbi*
ungxamile,
 : (A case can be postponed if you are in a hurry)

: *ufune ligqitywe ngoku, kodwa limisiwe*
 : (you want it to be finished now, but it is postponed)

: *Kanti kukho ekufuneka ikhangelwe ukuba ngaba ihamba*
njani na
 : (yet there is something that must be checked) (ie what
 does the law say?)

: *Usenokugwetywa ngoku ityala limisiweyo*
 : (You can be charged even if the case has been
 postponed)

: *Usenokungagwetya uphume nge mali*
 : (You can on the other hand not be charged, and be freed
 on bail)

- : *Kanti kukho intw' elungiswayo*
 : (yet there's something that must be traced)
- : *Eh! imibono yalapha kufuneka ndifumane igama lala mfazi*
 : (Eh! The way this is seen, by the ancestors, they feel that I must get the name of that woman)
- : *Yonke ingcombolo yakhe*
 : (all the details (hers))
- : *Apha kufuneka behambile aba bekufuneka behambile*
 : (Those who must go must go)
- : *Kukhona ukubhideka kwengqondo komnto othile*
 : (There's a confusion on the mind of a certain person)
- : *usingaye lo ndithetha ngaye*
 : (the person I am dealing with/the one I'm talking about)
- : *Akazukuyi fumana kakuhl' ----- ngelekokuba unemimangaliso*
 : (She won't be able to get ----- unless she has his wonders)
- : *Ndakumenzaa into ebuhlungu*
 : (I'll do something terrible to her)
- : *ngamazwi ayakuthi "nam ndisebenze"*
 : (that will cause her to say, "Work on me as well")
- : *Ndivuka naleyo*
 : (That's what I've come up with)
- : *Mandifumane igama lakhe*
 : (Give me his name)
- : *Kodwa makubekho onyukayo*
 : (but one must stand up)

Cecil:

- : *Ngokwegama ke bawo nguMkhuseli*
 : (Mkhuseli is his name)

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : *Lizakubhalwa man*
- : (It's going to be written) .
- : *Kufuneka into ebhalwe phantsi yonke*
- : (everything must be written down)
- : *igama lakhe, neadresi yakhe yalapha nayo yonk' into*
- : *ngaye*
- : (His name, home address here and everything concerning him)

Cecil:

- : *Akunayo ipen?* (Have you got a pen?)

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : *Hayi! Ikhona wena apha.* (No there is a pen).
- : *Iphepha likhona?* (Have you got paper?)

Cecil:

- : *nali* (Here it is).

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : *Iyabhala na?*
- : (Is the pen working?)

Cecil:

- : *Ewe* (Yes)

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : *Ndicel' amandla bethuna*
- : (I ask for power, people)
- : *Ezi zandla ayizozam*
- : (these hands are not mine)
- : *Nalo mzimba ayinguno owam*
- : (and this body is also not mine)
- : *Ndizibolekowe zonke ezi zinto ndinazo*
- : (Somebody has lent me everything I have)

- : *Ndinethemba lokuba ndiza kuzishiya kweli lizwe*
 : (I hope that I will leave them in this world)
- : *Ngoko ke amandla sakuwacela kwabangentla, kwayekuthetha kulungile*
 : (So we will ask for power from those on top, talking will be fine)
- : *Inkosi le ke ngumni isiduko?*
 : (What is my lords clan name?)

Pause

Mike:

- : *Nguciven igama*
 : (Given is his name)

Gogo Sukhwini

- : *Gngumni?*
 : (What's in your clan?)

Mike:

- : *Ungumni?* (What is your clan?)
 : *LiNgesi* (His is English)

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : Heh?

Cecil:

- : *Lingesi* (His is English)

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : *Oh! liNgesi; oh!Ja! Mpheni igama lesintu*
 : (Give him a Xhosa name)

Mike:

- : *Kanti siphe inkosikazi yakhe*
 : (We have named his wife)
- : *InguNokhaya igama layo*
 : (She is Nokhaya)

Gogo Sukhwini:

: *Ingu Nokhaya*
: (Is she Nokhaya?)

Mike:

: *Ewe*

Gogo Magwasa:

: *Yena nguMncedisi*
: (His name is Mncedisi)

Gogo Sukhwini:

: *Yena?*
: (You mean him?)

Mike:

: *Eh. Mncedisi*
: (English explanation about my name)

Gogo Magwasa:

: *Ke ngoku tata uthi le ndlela intle?*
: (Now Father you say the road is smooth?)

Gogo Sukhwini:

: *Intle. Intle indlela*
: (The road is smooth)

: *Nizame.....*
: (Try.....)

: *nizame nokuba kutsha phi*
: (Try hard).

: *Andizukuyeka ndingathandazi*
: (I will never stop praying)

: *Ndithandaza kwabangekhoyo ukuze bandiphe amandla*
: (I pray to my ancestors so that they can give me power)

- : *Akukho mali ndiza kunibiza yona, camagu*
 : (I'm not going to charge you, appreciate).
- : *Io incimbi ndiwenza ngemali, kodwa andizukubiza mali*
 : (Usually I charge for this, but I won't charge)
- : *Ndiza kube ndibetha ngecamagu*
 : (I will, at the moment use 'icamagu')
- : *Siyakubona le nkwenkwe ukuba ingasibiza ntoni*
 : (We will see this boy because of what we ask for)
- : *Ndakuwaginya amathe xa nifike nina*
 : (I will swallow my saliva, when you arrive back with me)

Cecil:

- : *Kebawo kunjani xa ndinokucela?*
 : (How will it be if I can ask?)
- : *Nonjengabantu abamameleyo kuba kaloku ingqondo azifani ngokucinga*
 : (As we have been listening our minds have been thinking differently)
- : *Kukho le ndima yokuba bebemele ukuba baphaya namhlanje ngo 12 or 2 namhlanje ngokwezigqibo zala ntombazana*
 : (There's something I want to ask, they were supposed to be there today between 12 and 2 o'clock according to that woman's agreement).
- : *Ndifun' ukuqonda ke ngoku ke ukuba le nto ayizukwenza nto xa benokufika late*
 : (I want to know whether that will not cause trouble even if they arrive late?)

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : *Ayiz! ukwenza nto (x 2) Solongo behombile bona*
 : (It won't cause trouble as long as they have been there)

Cecil:

- : *Into ebangel'ukuba nditsho bawo kukuba mhlawumbi*
basenokungamkeleki kuba ntombazana
- : (What causes me to say that is maybe she won't allow
them or let them in)
- : *ngokwezigqibo zayo nabo*
- : (according to their agreement).
- : *Itshilo ithe ukuba abafikanga namhlanje nge 2nd between*
12 and 2,
- : (She made it quite clear that "if they don't come today
between 12 and 2,)
- : *mabayazi ukuba akho nto iza kuphinde ilunge*
- : (they must know that nothing will be considered).
- : *Mandithi ke nalapho zisenokungxengxeza kuba besimfonele*
izolo elinye nayizolo
- : (Even there we can still beg her because we phoned her
a day before yesterday and yesterday)

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : *Hambani ndiza kunibona ukubuya kwenu*
- : (Go now I will see you when you come back)

Cecil:

- : *Nendlela nazo ngaphaya ziya kuthi zisivulele*
- : (And we shall have a smooth road)

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : *Apha kuni sithi indlela mayibentle, mayivuleke*
- : (To you we say the road must be smooth, and open)
- : *Nditsho ngoku makube kahle, ndiyanomeleza*
- : (I say let there be good, I strengthen you)
- : *Thongwe yiza*
- : (Come Thongwe)
- : *Mayibe ntl' indlela*
- : (Let there be good)

- : *Ndifun' ukutsho -*
 : ('repeats the above')
- : *Ndikholwa' nihle ngale ndlela*
 : (I would prefer you to take this road)
- : *Sapha lo nto*
 : (Give me that)
- : *Ndiza kuthetha mna nala manzi*
 : (I will talk to this water)
- : *la manzi aza kukhutshelwa entweni*
 : (This water will be poured into a small container)
- : *la manzi aza kubiz' igama lakhe nam ndibe khona*
 : (This water will call on his/her name with my presence)
- : *Ndiza kuthetha naye ngala manzi*
 : (I will talk to her through this water)
- : *Aza kohlulwa maninzi qithi*
 : (I will divide it because it is too much)
- : *Andizukulala phezu komqokozo mna*
 : (I won't sleep on top of 'umqokozo')
- : *Andinjalo*
 : (I'm not like that)
- : *Andindedwa*
 : (I'm not alone)
- : *Ndicela Nkosi*
 : (I ask you lord)

Baba Manci:

- : *Uxolo kancinci* (Sorry for a little while)
- : *Nam ndingavalelisa ndingathi noko nanjenqokuba izinto zingakhange ziphumelele*
 : (I would like to close by saying, though things were not successful-----)
- : *Eh! camagu mzi wakwa Sukhwini*
 : (Eh! 'camagu' Sukhwini's i.e. clan of the '-vumisa')

- : *Nam deivile ndityebile*
 : (I've listened and I'm satisfied)
- : *Nam ndiyathanda ndizokuzivela kuba le ndlela imbi,*
 : (I also liked to come and hear because this road is
 terrible),
- : *inzima inamagingxi-gingxi*
 : (its rough with humps).
- : *Nangoku kuthethwa ngayo siyayifumana, siyifumane,*
singayifumani
 : (Even now you were speaking of it, we may or may not
 get it)
- : *Ewe! kuba kuthi xa kuza kuhanjwa umhlaba esingawaziyo*
le nto yenz' ukuba inggondo zethu zibethabethane
 : (Yes. Because if you are going to travel to a land we
 don't know, this causes our minds to think twice).
- : *Yile nto ebangela ukuba, mi wakwa - Sukhwini, sizokuba*
lapho
 : (That is what caused us to be here, Sukhwini)
- : *Sizokunmqula izihlelevele*
 : (To praise the ancestors)
- : *Sizovakweli cala ukuba ngaba zibone njani na ezakwa*
Sukhwini izihlwele
 : (We are here to hear what the Sukhwini ancestors have
 to say)
- : *Kuba kaloku uthi xa ulele ulal' ungalali uman'*
uzombula, uman' uphinda uzigquma
 : (Because when you're sleeping you sleep with your
 blankets over your face and sometimes without)

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : *Inkosi ngumni?*
 : (What's your clan?)

Baba Manci:

- : *NguManci*
 : (Manci)

Gogo Sukhwini:

: *uManci?*

Baba Manci:

: *lizotsho eli*

: (This is 'zotsho' (i.e. clan))

: *Nditheth' ukuthi nam ndivile ndonelisekile*

: (I mean to say I've heard and I'm satisfied)

Gogo Sukhwini:

: *Ndibulel' ubukho bakho*

: (I thank your presence)

: *Undinik' amandla*

: (You give me power)

: *Ndisebenza ngamandla ndo melezwa ngamazwi akho*

: (I work very hard because of what you say)

Baba Manci:

: *Sibonga nathi ke ngoku. Sakuqala siyifuthe le ndaba,*

: (We thank you. We'll start to think about this)

: *Njengokuba besisiza apha kwaSukhwini besiyifuthile,*

: (for when we first came here we first thought about it)

: *kwade, kwafumanisek' ukuba masikhe sithath' intonga khe siye kwabany' abontu ababonayo*

: (we came up with one voice of taking our sticks going to people who know about these things)

Gogo Sukhwini:

: *Ebekhona ngoku bendivumisa?*

: (Was he here when I was doing a 'vumisa')?

Abantu: *Hayi*

Gogo Sukhwini:

: *Akwab' ubukhona*

: (I wish you were here)

- : *Uzokuva ukuba bendithetha ntoni*
 : (You would have heard what I said)
- : *Ndithethile ngesi simanga, ndath' ukhona uhleli*
akafanga ayikho lo nto.
- : (I have spoken about this disaster. I've said he is
 alive, not dead, there is nothing like that)

Baba Manci:

- : *Hayi, ndivile*
 : (No, I've understood)

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : *Andizanga namntu uswelekileyo mna*
 : (I have not come with the dead person)
- : *Hayi ukhona*
 : (He is alive)
- : *Qha ufun' ukubizwa*
 : (He only wants to be called)
- : *Qha kodwa ke khanike nime ke ndilale ndizokubona ukuba*
mandenze ntoni na
 : (But give me some time to sleep and what I can do).
- : *Kodwa ndifun' amanz' ahambayo*
 : (but I want some running water).

Baba Manci:

- : *Hayi ke besesikhululwe kwaSukhwini.*
 : (You have already freed us).

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : *Andindedwa mna ayindim lo uthetha nani*
 : (I'm not alone, it is not me speaking to you).

Baba Manci:

- : *Siyacamagusha nathi*
 : (We say 'camagu')

- : *Siyacamagusha noko sithi ingake noko iNkosi ukuph' amandla*
- : (We say, may the lord give you power)
- : *Kulal' ubumnyama, kuvelukukhanya, kushukum' amathambo alel' ukuthula*
- : (let the darkness go, and light comes and that all the bones of the dead will rise).

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : *Ndodenkulu*
- : (Great man)

Baba Manci:

- : *Nditsha' ukuthi siyacamagusha*
- : (I mean to say, we say 'camagu')
- : *Eneneni okuhle makuze, ewe, masikhululeke*
- : (let the good come, yes, let's go)
- : *Sicel' indlela, (We ask for the way),*
- : *kodwa asiz' ukuhamba nawe sowulishiya nje*
- : (but we are not leaving with you, we're just leaving it)

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : *Aikho le nto yakho yalahlekayo ufun' ukukhunjuzwa qha*
- : (there is something you have lost, you just want to be reminded)
- : *..... emtshatweni ungalindeli ud' ufe ungakhunjuzwanga*
- : (in a wedding, do not wait until you die without being reminded about it).
- : *Kukho nto yakho eyalahlekayo ongayaziyo wena, ekufuneka ukuba uxelelwe ngayo*
- : (You lost something which you don't know, which you need to be told about).
- : *Ungandikheth' ukubuqhel' ukuxelel' abantu*
- : (If you usually tell people about it, shout at me).

- : *Ungandithemb ubuqhel ukunceda abantu khe kuxelelwe wena lo*
 : (Don't trust me if you usually help people, now I'm going to tell you).
- : *Uyek' ukuthi hayi ndiyanceda ngapha nam ke ndifun' ukunceda lo.*
 : (Stop saying no I help people so I want to help this one).
- : *Uhambe kakuhle*
 : (Go well)
- : *Uzuzokundibona ke*
 : (You must come and see me)
- : *Hayi ke mandimkhulukele*
 : (Let me free you)
- : *Umzi niwubonile* (You have seen my place)
- : *Sendibulel' ukuba ndibon' umntakwethu lo nindicedile*
 : (I thank to see my brother, you have pleased me)
- : *Kudala ndimfuna apha*
 : (I had long wanted to see him here)
- : *Sizokudibana*
 : (We are to meet again)

Umtu:

- : *Kudala umfuna na bowo*
 : (You had long wanted him?)

Gogo Sukhwini:

- : *Kudala ndimfuna*
 : (Yes, I have long wanted him)

PLATES

Plate Nos. 1 & 2: Gogo Magwasa's *indumba* in a corner of her bedroom.

Plate No. 1:



plate No.2:



plate No.3: Baba Manci, the herbalist (*ixhwele*) in his *indumba*, holding *ibaso*.



Plate No.4: Gogo Magwasa in Baba Manci's *indumba* holding *ibaso* in her left hand and her *itshoba* in her right hand.



Plate No.5:

The roof (inside) of Baba Manci's *indumba*.

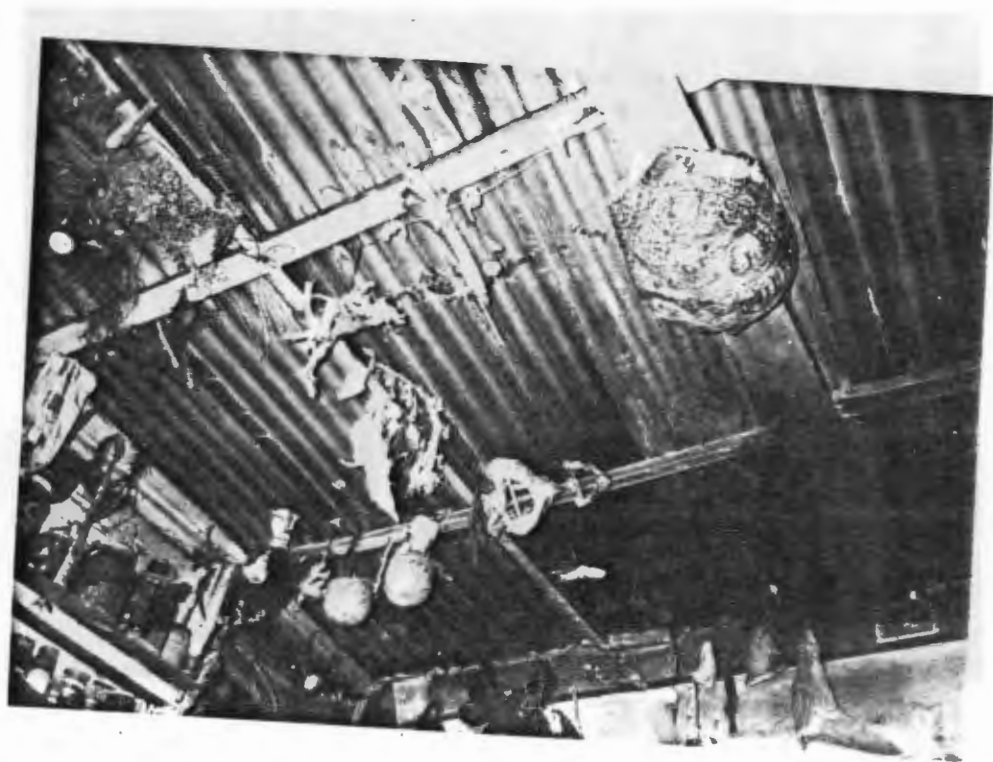


Plate No.6: Spokes warming ('tuning') the drums (*izigubu*) by the coals of the fire just before a seance.



Plate No.7: The five drums used at Gogo Morwadi's
intlombe (Case Study No.2).



Plate No.8: Gogo Morwadi's *indumba* in a small tin shed in the back yard.



Plate No.9: Gogo Dublamanzi's *indumba* in a corner of her bedroom.



Plate Nos.10 & 11: Gogo Sukhwini's *indumba* demonstrating the huge 'whale' bone and his set of *amathambo* which were never packed away. This set differs considerably from those used by my other informants.

Plate No.10:



Plate No.11: Note the abalone shell containing *imphepho* and *omnenge* (red bait) in the far right.



Plate No.12: Mike skinning a large seal.



Plate No.13: Collecting *imithi* from the sea; one of the calmer days.



Plate No.14: The 'medicine depot' in Nyanga.



Inside the trailer.



Plate Nos. 15, 16 and 17:

The cure of *impundulu* in three stages.

Plate No.15: Stage 1: the blood of the ritual killing is mixed with various *imithi* and is to be used in the ritual cleansing.



Plate No.16: Stage 2: the ritual cleansing in a river in
Newlands Forest.



Plate No.17: Stage 3: numerous incisions (-*qinisa*) are made at specific points on the body, into which *imithi* is rubbed.



Plate No.18: Libations to the ancestors performed by Gogo Magwasa. (Here an excess amount of *umqombothi* was spilt on the lounge floor and had to be covered with some sand).



Plate No.19: Communal -*xhentsa* in Case Study No.1. The diviner on the far right, dressed in white, is Xhosa.



Plate No.20: Gogo Nomayeza in an unusual -*xhentsa* position (she may have been performing -*hlehla*; as this was my first seance I was as yet not familiar with the various seance activities). Note her decorated *itshoba* lying across her legs.



Plate No.21: The diviner's area in Case Study No.2. Note the tins of *umqombothi* in the centre; some diviners, however, chose to drink tea. Gogo Mtsila, the officiating diviner at this *intlombe*, is situated second from the front on the far left (drinking tea).



Plate No.22: 06h30 - the ritual of the marriage ceremony
in Case Study No.2.



Plate No.23: Gogo Magwasa performing her -xhentsa in the finale of Case Study No.2.



Plate No.24: Gogo Dublamanzi performing her *-xhentsa* in the finale of Case Study No.2. Note drummers all playing in the horizontal position except Spokes (at the end of the line in blue overall) who is playing in the vertical position. Note also the *amafahlawana* on Gogo Dublamanzi's legs.



Plate No.25: Spokes takes a turn at -*xhentsa* after all the diviners have finished. Again note *amafahlawana* on his legs.



Plate No.26: *Thokozisa* performed by the *amadoda* (men) in Case Study No.3. (Note the p.v.c. drum beaters in the right-hand corner).



Plate No. 27: Gogo Mashiya inhaling the fumes from burning *imphepho*.



Plate No.28: The ritual killing in Case Study No.3.



Plate No.29: The *ithwasa* (Gogo Mashiya) joins the others in the lounge to perform *-xhentsa* and *-thokozisa*.



Plate No.30: Communal -xhentsa in Case Study No.3.



Plate No.31: Mike relaxes casually, seemingly unaffected by the events of the all-night seance which has just concluded (at approximately 05h15)). Others, however, showed some signs of fatigue.



Plate No.32, 33, 35 and 35:

The second phase of Cast Study No.4, the ritual washing (*uku-hlamba*).

Plate No.32: A *-phahla* (praying to the ancestors) session, Dhlamini at the rock in the river..



Plate No.33: Gogo Morwadi performing her -phahla on the rock in the river.



Plate No.34: The ritual killing is performed by Gogo Morwadi.



Plate No.35: Gogo Magwasa, on the rock in the river, performing the -phalaza ritual.



Plate Nos. 36, 37 and 38:

Three very similar sets of *amat-embo* as used by Gogo Magwasa (plate no. 36), Gogo Dublamanzi (plate no. 37) and Gogo Morwadi (plate no. 38).

Plate No. 36: Shows the 'bone' bag (*isikhwama*) to the left. The two dominoes are lying face down (black rectangular objects).



Plate No.37: Note the R5 and R10 notes included in the set of *amathambo* and the large yellow bucket of *ibudlu* in the *indumba* area.



Plate No.38: The dominoes are here lying face up, clearly showing the 6:4 pattern of dots.

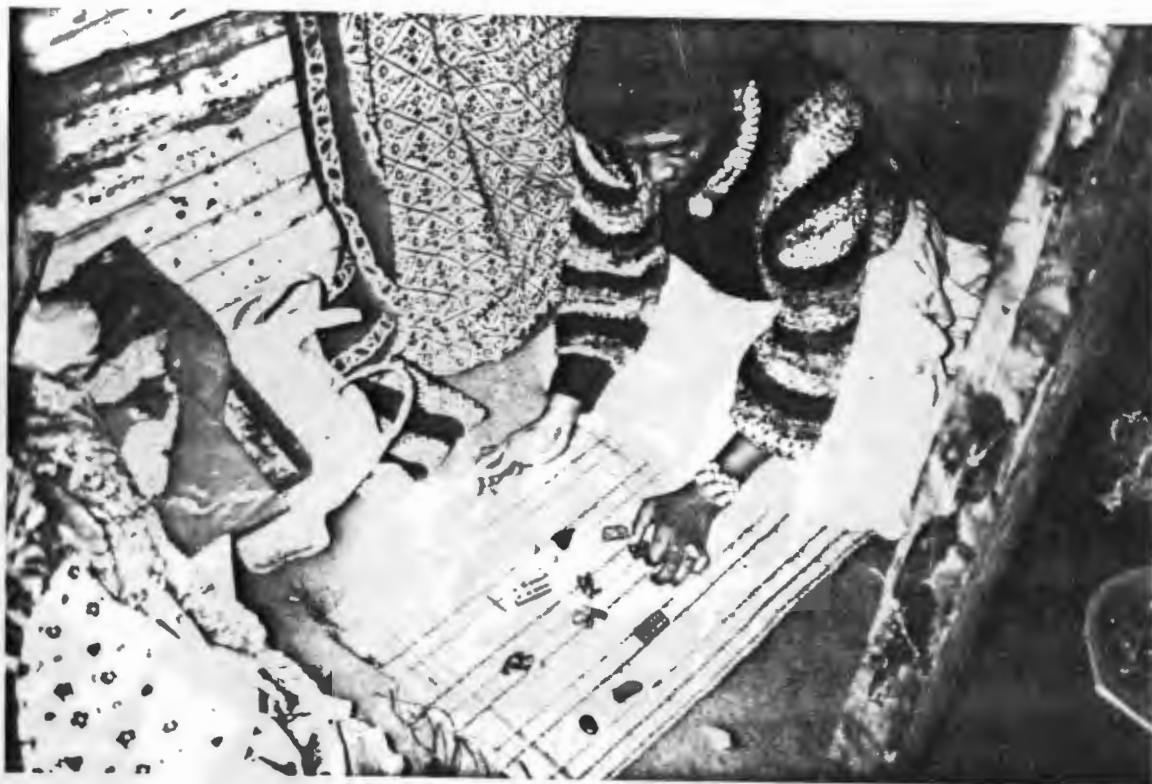


Plate No.39: Gogo Morwadi mixing *ibudlu* in her *indumba*.



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